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[No. 10.

THE EXCITEMENT.

THE movements of the Anti-Slavery Societies, so called, have produced an excitement at the South as intense as it is deeply to be deplored by every friend to the Constitution, the peace and the integrity of the Union. Papers of an inflammatory and dangerous character, emanating from members of those Institutions, and in many instances issued by their authority, having been circulated throughout the Southern States, public feeling in that quarter of the Union has at length expressed itself in terms of indignant and denunciatory reprobation. Meetings have been held, and calls for them are continued, for the purpose of adopting measures suitable to the crisis. In many places of the North, the citizens have also convened, and passed Resolutions, strongly censuring the conduct of the Abolitionists, and conveying to their Southern brethren assurances of sympathy and support.

Of the proceedings had on these various occasions, we had prepared an account, containing some of the Resolutions adopted; but the article is too long for insertion in the present number. Instead of it, we shall state the times and places of the principal meetings in both sections of the Union, and a brief view of their respective results. A distinct image of the feelings and opinions of the persons present, is exhibited by two speeches which we republish: one pronounced by a distinguished Senator of the United States, from Virginia, and the other by a no less distinguished citizen of Massachusetts, whose eloquence, once powerful in the councils of his country, is not less impressive on the occasion which has drawn him from his retirement.

An adjourned meeting of the citizens of Henrico County and the city of Richmond, in Virginia, was held at the capitol on the 4th of August, Dr. JOHN DOVE, Chairman; a public meeting at Norfolk, on the 17th of August; one at the Court-House, Fairfax County, on the same day, Gen. JOHN C. HUNTER, Chairman; one at the Court-

House, Gloucester County, August 22nd, Col. ROBERT C. CURTIS, Chairman, at which Resolutions were adopted on motion of JOHN TYLER, formerly Governor of Virginia, and now a Senator in Congress, after a speech by him in support of them; a public meeting at Lynchburg, August 27th, SAMUEL J. WIATT, Mayor of the town, presiding; one at the Court-House, Augusta County, August 29th, Col. JOSEPH BROWN, presiding; and a meeting of the Clergy of Richmond, August 28th, 29th.

A meeting of the citizens of Fredericksburg was held on the 9th of September. Dr. JOHN H. WALLACE in the Chair.

In South Carolina, a public meeting was held August 11th, at Charleston; and the municipal government of that city has adopted proceedings on the subject of the Northern Abolitionists.

The Northern meetings, of which accounts have reached us, were held as follows:

One at Portland, (Maine,) August 15th, Gen. JOHN CHANDLER, presiding; one at Bath, (Maine,) August 17th, GEORGE F. PATTEN, presiding; one at Boston, August 21st, THEO. LYMAN, Jr., the Mayor, presiding, which was addressed by RICHARD FLETCHER, PELEG SPRAGUE and HARRISON GRAY OTIS; one at Philadelphia, August 24th, MORTON M'MICHAEL, an Alderman, presiding; one in New York, August 27th, CORNELIUS W. LAWRENCE, the Mayor, presiding; and one at Albany, N. Y. September 4th, WM. L. MARCY, Governor of the State, presiding.

The fraternal disposition exhibited at the recent Northern meetings has obviously gratified the public mind in the slaveholding States.— But they call loudly for legislative action on the part of the States in which Anti-Slavery Societies are located, restraining or making penal their obnoxious proceedings. It is manifest that the Southern citizens, whatever differences or varieties of opinion as to the Slavery Question may exist among themselves, are unanimous in refusing to permit its discussion, as a local subject, except with each other.— This ground is taken at all the popular meetings and by the press in that region; and as firmly by Journals friendly to emancipation as by those which the ultraism of Northern Abolition has driven into a quasi defence of Slavery as an institution. The diffusion of insurrectionary documents through the instrumentality of the mail, has excited odium against that important national institution, and in special cases violations of law. Significant movements have also been made, leading to the establishment of a commercial non-intercourse with the non-slaveholding States. Meanwhile, as a part of the meditated system of defence against the "*Immediatists*," as they style themselves, privileges heretofore allowed to slaves have in many places been withdrawn; and a rigorous policy towards them has been indicated.

"The Abolitionists," says a Journal published in the capital of Virginia,* "have proved to be the worst enemies of the colored race, by their ill-judged interference. Every where in the South the discipline has become more rigorous, and the confidence which a little

*See Richmond Courier and Compiler, September 2.

while since was uniformly extended, is now withdrawn. The citizens of St. Francisville and Donaldsonville, in Louisiana, and their vicinities, have held meetings for the purpose of instituting a stricter watch throughout their respective parishes. The slaves are not now allowed to leave the plantations without an express permit, and patrols are established, to be in constant readiness. Persons exempt from military service are requested to keep in good order their arms and accoutrements; and all suspicious strangers are to be expelled.—Preachers are forbidden to preach to slaves, and any white man (a stranger) found in any negro quarters, or conversing with slaves on the road, will be considered as a vagabond, and treated accordingly.”

So far as public opinion at the North can be inferred from the manifestations of it exhibited at the popular assemblies which have recently been in session, it is to the following effect:

That before, during and subsequently to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the existence of slavery in this country was considered, discussed, and agreed to be a subject exclusively appertaining to the domestic polity of each State; that no power was given by the Federal Constitution to the General Government to interfere in any respect with the condition of slaves in any of the States; that such grant of power was disclaimed in the first Congress, and has never been supposed by any other to exist; that any interference, direct or indirect, on the part of Anti-Slavery Societies or other agents, with the slavery question at the South, is contrary to the Federal Constitution and tends to the dissolution of the Union; that the proceedings of those Societies in that respect are not only constitutionally but morally unjustifiable; and that the mass of numbers and intelligence among the people of the Northern States is prepared to defend the rights of their fellow-citizens at the South.

It may be added, that the views thus taken of the slavery question at the South, as being entirely domestic, had before been presented in the most distinct manner, by eminent Northern Statesmen and Jurists.*

While the Southern portion of the Union is agitated to its centre, the Associations responsible for so alarming a state of things, have announced what position they design to occupy.

At a meeting held on the 19th of August, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society directed a manifesto to be published, in which they deny that they have violated, or wish to violate, the Constitution of the U. States; or that they are guilty of circulating incendiary† publications among the Southern slaves; or that they encourage amalgamation by intermarriage; or that they interfere in the domestic concerns of the Southern States.

According to that manifesto, the Federal Constitution contains but

* See Mr. Webster's letter to Mr. Bolton (*African Rep.* Vol. 9, p. 188); Mr. Webster's speech in the Senate of the U. S. on Mr. Foot's Resolution, January 26, 1830. (*Webster's Speeches*, Vol. 1, p. 380—382.) *Story's Commentaries*, Vol. 2, p. 113.

† See Debate on the Peace Question, *Liberator*, April 18, 1835, and remarks of the Boston Recorder, August 28, 1835.

three allusions to Slavery: "One clause provides for a slave representation in Congress; a second forbids Congress to prohibit the African Slave Trade, till the year 1808; and the third enacts that 'persons held to service or labor' in one State, escaping into another, shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

"Whatever," they say, "may be thought of the tendency of our principles, we claim, as our Constitutional right, the privilege to discuss and promulgate them."

A similar publication bearing date New York, September 3, 1835, has been made on behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, declaratory of its conduct and principles. In regard to the charge of "sending incendiary publications to the South," this paper says:

"If by the term *incendiary* is meant publications containing arguments and facts to prove slavery to be a moral and political evil, and that duty and policy require its immediate abolition, the charge is true. But if this charge is used to imply publications encouraging insurrection, and designed to excite the slaves to break their fetters, the charge is utterly and unequivocally false.

"We are accused of sending our publications to the slaves, and it is asserted that their tendency is to excite insurrections. Both of the charges are false. These publications are not intended for the slaves, and were they able to read them they would find in them no encouragement to insurrection."

The New York manifesto asserts, as that at Boston, had done, the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and that it is the duty of that body to exercise the right. It announces with still more emphasis, a determination to persevere in promulgating among the slaveholders the opinions of the Society on the subject of slavery and its immediate abolition. This paper is signed by Arthur Tappan, President; John Rankin, Treasurer; William Jay, Sec. For. Cor.; Elizur Wright, Jr., Sec. Dom. Cor.; Abraham L. Cox, M. D. Rec. Sec.; Lewis Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, Samuel E. Cornish, Simeon S. Jocelyn, and Theodore S. Wright, members of the Executive Committee.

The following extract of a letter, stated to have been received by the Secretary of the Committee of Vigilance for Prince William's Parish in South Carolina, was published by that Committee in the Charleston Mercury of September 5:

NEW YORK, August 13, 1835.

"In July the American Anti-Slavery Society issued 175,000 copies of newspapers and pamphlets, of which 1000 were destroyed at Charleston, S. C. (1-175th part.)* The rest are accomplishing the design intended throughout the United States.

"We will persevere, come life or death. If any fall by the hand of violence, others will continue the blessed work.

"I have just learned that in the centre of this State a great excitement prevails; owing to the intelligence from Charleston, the resolutions in Richmond, &c., there has been a great Anti-Slavery Meeting—the most influential persons uniting themselves to it; and that notices have gone abroad for a large State Convention, to form a New York State Anti-Slavery Society."

(Signed)

LEWIS TAPPAN.

The Committee deem comment upon the above extracts needless, and submit them without remark to their fellow-citizens.

T. W. HUDSON, Chairman.

W. FERGUSON HUTSON, Secretary.

* This is not true. Several thousands were destroyed here.—[ED. MEM.]

LATEST FROM LIBERIA.

The brig *Rover*, which had carried the emigrants from New Orleans to Liberia, arrived in New York last August, but after our September number was prepared for the press. The emigrants were generally in excellent health, both during the passage and after their arrival. There had been only one death among them, and that was by consumption. The name of the sufferer was Armisted Price.—The greater portion of them had gone 15 miles up the river to Millsburg, where they will remain till the rainy season is over. The health of the colony was excellent, and the colonists apparently contented and prosperous. The wars among the adjacent native tribes had been terminated; and a few days before the *Rover's* departure, 300 or 400 of them came into Liberia with camwood, &c., which they carried on their backs. Captain Outerbridge states that he saw nothing which looked like intemperance in the colony, and heard no profane language. Most of the colonists, he thinks, are members of the Temperance Society.

The *Rover* brought several letters from the colony. Among them was one from Mr. PINNEY, dated April 26, May 5, and 14, 1835.—At the last date, the excitement which had prevailed in some parts of the colony was over. Mr. J. F. C. Finley was to take charge of the Mississippi emigrants. They were pleased with the country, and there were good grounds for expecting that they would prove to be a beneficial accession to the Liberian community. Mr. PINNEY had retired from the Agency, which was in charge of the Vice-Agent, there to continue till Dr. SKINNER's arrival.

A letter was also received by the *Rover* from JAMES BROWN, the Apothecary who emigrated from this city. We make the following extracts from it:

—
MONROVIA, MAY 15th, 1835.

Gentlemen of the Board of Managers of A. C. S.

It is with great pleasure that I sit down to write you after absence of nearly two years from you, without hearing how your excellent cause prospers. A desire to hear from you, together with some complaints here, forbids me keeping any longer silent; but before I mention these complaints, permit me to say it is my humble opinion, with a little good management, your Society was never in a more prosperous state. It is true, we have here what the merchants call dull times, that is, the native wars have prevented the circulation of trade; but I am happy to say, that has not interfered with the tillers of the soil, and perhaps there was never so much attention paid to the cultivation of the soil as there is at this time; and their labors are not in vain. In this, Caldwell and New Georgia are foremost; and I am in hopes that the new comers from New Orleans, will stir them up to more diligence in the farming way, as they have the means. I have just returned from a visit to all the settlements—Bassa Cove included; and I see no great advantage that one possesses over the other, except the upper parts of Caldwell, and the situation and soil opposite of Millsburg settlement. There the lands are high, light and rich; but I have not time to say any more upon this subject at present. I am preparing to lay before my friends in America, my opinion of the Colony, which I hope will result in good.

Permit me to ask you, is it your efforts alone, or is it the improvements to be made here, by the people, will most forward the cause of Colonization? Your efforts are indispensable, and blest may they be; yet all in vain unless we improve, which I am happy to say that we are doing. It is slow but sure. In my humble

opinion, so successfully have the seeds of Colonization been sown, that together with the natural advantages of Africa, and with the improvements made by the Colonists, you have planted a standard that all your opposers cannot overthrow.**

We have some very respectable people among the emigrants from New Orleans. Among them are Messrs. Simpson and Moore; Mr. Finley, it seems, from the advice of his brother, has taken charge of them, and is fixing many of them at Millsburg. * *

In conclusion, permit me to ask the favor of you, gentlemen, to write me, as I shall write you hereafter, as often as I shall find it acceptable to you. You will have the goodness to put me on the list of subscribers to the African Repository.

JAMES BROWN.

THE KOSCIUSZKO FUND.

On the 5th of May, 1798, Kosciuszko, the celebrated Polish General, placed a fund in the hands of Mr. Jefferson, and executed a will as follows:

"I, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, being just on my departure from America, do hereby declare and direct, that, should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend, Thomas Jefferson, to employ the whole thereof in purchasing negroes, from among his own or any others, and giving them liberty in my name, in giving them an education in trade or otherwise, and in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality, which may make them good neighbours, good fathers or *mothers*, husbands or wives, in their duty as citizens, teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and country, and of the good order of society, and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful. And I make the said Thomas Jefferson my Executor of this. (Signed) T. Kosciuszko, 5 May, 1798."

Kosciuszko died October 15, 1817; and Mr. Jefferson refusing to take out letters testamentary under his will, Benjamin Lincoln Lear was appointed Administrator with the will annexed. Under another will, alleged to have been executed by Kosciuszko at Paris, in June 1806, Kosciuszko Armstrong claimed of the Administrator \$3,704 out of the funds in his hands. The bill in chancery making the claim was dismissed by the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia for Washington County, because it did not appear that the will of June 1806 had been admitted to probate in either France or the Orphans Court of that County. At February term 1827, this decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States.*

The validity of the will of May 5, 1798, was denied by the distributees and next of kin of Kosciuszko, and the fund was claimed by them. At January term 1833, the Supreme Court considered the case, and remanded it for further proceedings.†

The case of *Armstrong v. Lear* again came before the Supreme Court, at January term 1834, and was remanded for further proceedings.‡

The following letter in relation to the fund, has recently been written to the Editor of *Zion's Herald* in Boston:

* *Armstrong v. Lear*, Admr. of Kosciuszko, 12 Wheat. 169.

† *Estho et al. v. Lear*, Admr. &c., 7 Peters, 130.

‡ 8 Peters, 52.

NEWARK, September 1, 1835.

Mr. Benjamin Kingsbury, Jr.

DEAR SIR: I duly received the Herald, and noted your remark on the subject of the Kosciuszko Fund. I was glad at the occasion, as it afforded an opportunity of making an explanation, that I have, for some time, desired.

Benjamin L. Lear, Esq. now deceased, and lately of Washington City, was the trustee of that fund, and became a trustee of the African Education Society in this State. He intended to apply the whole fund to our Society. It then consisted (seven or eight years ago) of bank and other stocks to the amount of \$16,000.—When we were on the point of commencing our operations—as the purchase of a small farm, the selection of teachers, and of mechanics as instructors, &c.—Mr. Lear wrote us that the heirs of General Kosciuszko, through the Russian consul, had employed counsel to file a bill in the Supreme Court of the United States against him as trustee, for this fund, on the ground of the invalidity of the will; that until this suit was decided, he could not pay over the fund or any part of it, but advised us to wait until then, when he would promptly advance the whole amount.

This intelligence greatly disappointed and depressed us. We had mainly relied on this fund. The Board of Trustees concluded to pause. Some funds had been collected, part of which we applied to the education of two or three worthy colored men of promise.

Various untoward circumstances have delayed the suit; Mr. Lear's death with the cholera in 1832, Mr. Wirt's decease afterwards, and other causes. Colonel Bomford, of Washington, is at present the trustee, as Executor of Mr. Lear. On reading your note, I addressed him a letter; the following extract from his reply, will give the latest information of the case. The reply is under date of the 26th ultimo:

"The claim you mention to this fund on the part of the heirs of Gen. Kosciuszko, is still in suit, but when a decision will probably be had I cannot, in the present state of the case, even form a conjecture. It may, however, be proper to note for your information, that since the decease of Mr. Wirt, I have employed as counsel, R. S. Cox, Esq. who, I understand, concurred in the opinion often expressed by Mr. Wirt, that the heirs could not ultimately succeed in the suit they had instituted. Until the termination of the suit in question, or while acting as trustee, every thing will be done on my part, consistent with my position; and also to increase the fund, so far as that may be done with due attention to its ultimate security."

From Col. Bomford's letter, you perceive, that we may still cherish hope—and though "long deferred," the delay will have some compensation in the increase of the fund.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN.

"IMMEDIATISM."--Foreign Lecturers.

The address pronounced by the Rev. WILBUR FISK, D. D. President of the Wesleyan University, (Conn.) at the Colonization Meeting at Middletown, on the 4th of July last, is characterised by his usual ability. We extract the following passages, additional to those given in our last:

"Many have been caught, by the specious though sophistical manner of reasoning, on this subject. That the system of slavery is morally wrong, almost all are ready to acknowledge. Having gained assent to this proposition, then the sophistical lecturer immediately gives the proposition a distributive and an individual application, and says, 'since you acknowledge that slavery is sin, and must also acknowledge that every sinner should stop sinning *immediately*, irrespective of all consequences, therefore it is the duty of every slaveholder *immediately*, and irrespective of circumstances and consequences, to emancipate his slaves. This is *crooked logic*. The best way perhaps to straighten it is to give an illustration.

The eccentric Lorenzo Dow, lately deceased, had, by building a mill dam across a stream, flooded his neighbors' grounds above the dam. They commenced a suit

against him, and obtained a verdict in their favor, on the principle that he was invading their rights. This verdict convinced Lorenzo, that every moment he kept the water in its present position, he was guilty of a legal sin; and on the ground that every man should *quit sinning immediately*, he at once became a convert to the doctrine of immediate abolition. He accordingly went to work, and forthwith abolished (or demolished) his mill-dam. The *immediate* consequence of letting out so large a quantity of water at once, was the deluging of the country below; and a great destruction of property. And Lorenzo was taught, by a second prosecution and assessment of damages, that his *immediate abolition* had led him into a *greater sin* than he was guilty of before. *Immediatist! Mutatis mutandis, de te fabula narratur.*"

"A foreign interference, on this question, will grate very harshly on American feeling. The reminiscences of this anniversary teach us, that however much we love and honor England in her place, we should be extremely jealous of any interference from that quarter, in matters affecting our constitution and laws. Nor do I believe that a high-minded Englishman of intelligence and moral principle, having an honorable standing and an honorable calling in his own country, would volunteer to come to America on such an errand. What then are we to think, if such a foreign agent should not only come but should also prosecute his mission, in the most offensive manner, arraigning our institutions, denouncing our greatest and best men as conniving at "fraud" and "outrage," supporting and urging forward measures calculated to divide our churches, produce insubordination in our theological and literary institutions, and prostrate our political union? Why, sir, we must suspect the soundness either of his head or his heart. And what if such a foreign agent should either procure or suffer himself to be announced, as a reverend clergyman: and under such a character, should accept of invitations to officiate in the sacred desk as a minister of the gospel, although he never had the hand of Bishop or Presbyter on his head, nor held a ministerial license in his hand? In such a case, sir, we must lose all confidence in his sense of propriety and integrity. And if to this were added communications from his own country, and I speak not unadvisedly, that such an agent was a *bankrupt in purse and in character at home*, this would be only confirmatory of suspicions naturally excited by his conduct here.—Desperate fortunes and reputations require desperate means to repair them. If I were a foreigner and had no honorable calling, or safe public standing at home, and wished to go abroad, under a competent salary, to get a morsel of bread, and gain a transient reputation, especially if I had some power at declamation, to attract the attention and excite the wonder of the multitude, I know of no place more tempting than this country, and no theme more promising for this purpose, than that of slavery."

Baltimore Colonization Society.—At a meeting of the Young Men of Baltimore city and county, held in that city on the 25th of July, a Young Men's Society was formed, called the "Baltimore Colonization Society," auxiliary to the Maryland State Colonization Society. On that occasion a Constitution was adopted, the second article of which, indicating the objects of the Institution, is as follows:

The objects to which its influences and funds shall be devoted are, first to aid the Maryland State Colonization Society in building up the Maryland Colony in Liberia, on the West coast of Africa, by sending suitable emigrants from this State well provided with the means necessary to their comfort and prosperity;—secondly, to promote the circulation of the Maryland Colonization Journal as extensively as possible, together with such other papers as may conduce to increase the patronage and funds of the Society; thirdly, to promote, by all proper means, the mental and moral elevation of such of the colored people of Maryland as may be desirous to emigrate to the Colony.

At a meeting of the Society on the ensuing 3rd of August, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the year:

WM. WOODWARD, *President*. WM. F. GILES, GEO. W. NABB, D. P. BARNARD, LYMAN REED, J. L. SANDFORD, and JOHN DUKEHART, JR., *Vice-Presidents*. JAS. M. RASIN, GEO. W. KREBS, WM. LAWRASON, WM. H. BALDERSTON, SAM'L. G. BAKER, JOHN HURST, OTIS SPEAR, OLIVER HOLMES, JR., J. L. CARY, J. RANDOLPH FINLEY, JAS. O. LAW, and GEO. F. SMITH, *Managers*. WM. H. NORRIS, *Cor. Sec.* GEO. M. RODGERS, *Treasurer*. JAS. R. GASKINS, *Rec. Sec.*

COLONIZATION QUESTION.

JEREMIAH HUBBARD, a highly respectable member of the Society of Friends in North-Carolina, several of whose sensible writings have heretofore appeared in this work, lately published in the *Colonization Herald*, an "Appeal to the inhabitants of the United States and of Great Britain, and to the Legislative Authorities of both countries, calling on them to consider the present situation of the African race, and to do them justice."

Passing over what the writer says on the origin and evils of Slavery, with which particulars our readers are already well acquainted, we copy from this Appeal, what is said in relation to the ineffectual efforts of Abolition and other Societies, and also respecting the formation, present condition and future prospects of the American Colonization Society. We recommend this portion of Mr. HUBBARD'S Appeal to the serious attention of every one desirous of information on this subject :

Notwithstanding the efforts of Great Britain and the United States, in connexion with most other civilized nations, to suppress the slave trade,—Great Britain having taken the lead in the national operations, and acted nobly in giving millions to other nations to hire them to quit the trade—yet it is carried on to a very great extent, if not as great as it was the day that Clarkson commenced his career for its abolition. And after all the increase of light, and the connected efforts of wise and good men in opposing this great evil, together with all the united influence of manumission, abolition, philanthropic Societies, and of various religious Societies of latter times, and of the Society of Friends for more than a century, for the abolition of Slavery, and the restoring of the African race to their natural and inherent rights as citizens of the world, Slavery still exists to an amazing and an alarming extent in the United States. More than two millions in the Southern States are held in bondage:—there are about one hundred and twenty-two thousand free people of colour in the free States, and one hundred and eighty-two thousand of the same description in the slave States, but not one really free person in the whole; so far from this, that even in the free States, they are but partially allowed the privilege of voting, without which liberty is but an empty name. And it is a melancholy truth, that after all the benevolent solicitude manifested for more than a century in behalf of the rights of the African descendants, with the aid of so many wheels in the great moral engine employed against the mighty bulwarks of African oppression, they have not been able to pluck from the deep foundations of prejudice and Slavery, a single one of its victims, so as to confer on him in this country or in the West India Islands, all the privileges of freedom. It is true that the English Government has, at the vast expense of near a hundred millions of dollars given to the masters, conferred on them the boon of apprenticeship—not of freedom—until they have served some 4, and some 6 years; nor is it probable they will then be free—for if a white legislation continues on the Islands, they will only be free persons of colour, something like ours in the United States.

In taking a general view of the whole movements and influence of the great moral and political machinery so long employed for the abolition of Slavery to so little effect, is there not ground to suspect that there has been wanting some just sustaining principle, or right maintaining power in their operations? And if we examine minutely the enactments of the free States, and of Great Britain, on the subject of abolition, they appear to be predicated more upon the ground of expediency than humanity—more with a view to the interest of the master, than of justice and equity to the slave.* In the free States the laws for abolition left the existing generation of blacks in slavery during life; even infants born the day pre-

* Yet it must not be imputed as a fault of the friends of humanity—"they have done what they could."

ceding these enactments. These laws were made for unborn generations, and the minors in some States were not to be free until they were twenty-five years of age; and in others they had to serve until they were twenty-eight. This and the West India apprenticeships, were thought to be necessary expedients, by a more moderate course of discipline than Slavery, to prepare them for freedom. The enactment of the English Parliament was the more noble of the two, and much the better for the existing generation of the slaves, as it, by purchase of them, put it out of the power of the master to sell or continue them in slavery, which is said to have been practised by many of the Northern masters before and after the laws for abolition were passed; and their avarice in selling their slaves in the South, where they were already far more numerous than in the North, has always been much regretted by the friends of emancipation, both here and there. The great number of colored people in the South has been the principal obstacle to legislation on the subject. Under these circumstances need we marvel that legislative enactments for abolition progressed no further than Pennsylvania, though it has been near half a century since the general movements of the Northern States upon the subject?

"Such being the results of long-continued and strenuous efforts at abolition, and such the condition and prospects of the free colored population, it seemed desirable that a new essay should be made, offering more hopeful expectations of real freedom both to the emancipated and the slaves; it was seen that little had been done at the North, and that the great work of Southern abolition could not be advanced by Societies in the free States. It was seen that free colored persons of the United States were abridged of those common enjoyments that usually fall to the lot of man in a free country. It was under these circumstances, and with these impressions, that the Colonization Society grew into being." It was founded at Washington in the year 1817. "The simple scheme of removing to Africa all who should consent to emigrate, whether free persons of colour or slaves manumitted by masters, living in slave States that did not admit of legal emancipation, would, it was honestly believed, increase the spirit of emancipation in the slave States, by lessening the number, and raising the character of the free colored people—promote the gradual and general abolition of slavery, with the consent of the master."—"Five years of preliminary operations were requisite for the surveying of the coast—propitiating the natives, and selecting the most eligible site." The first settlement of emigrants from the United States was made in 1822. The view of the Colonization Society at the commencement of the enterprise, was mainly a mere experiment, and if it succeeded, it was believed that the General Government of the U. States would take the Colony under its care, and make annual appropriations adequate to the expenses of its progress. It now contains about ten thousand inhabitants, who have submitted to regular government. Of these there are about three thousand emigrants from this country, more than a thousand of them manumitted slaves, several hundred recaptured Africans—the rest are natives who voluntarily placed themselves under its protection; and notwithstanding the fierce opposition to the Colonization Society, and against the general enterprise, and the various reports that have been circulated of the wretched situation of the Colony, Liberia continues a living witness of the successful result of the experiment; the work goes on, and other colonies are establishing; one at Cape Palmas, by the State Colonization Society of Maryland, was settled in 1832, named "Maryland in Liberia," and another at Bassa Cove, by the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania. This was one of the greatest achievements of Christian benevolence in the annals of Colonization. The emigrants, upwards of an hundred and twenty, were slaves in Virginia, left by Dr. Hawes, deceased, to the Colonization Society, to be sent to Liberia, and he bequeathed \$2000 to assist the enterprise.—The laws of Virginia were such, that if they were not removed within twelve months, they might be claimed as slaves. The Parent Society at Washington at that time was not able to take them for want of funds. The Young Men's Colonization Society was projected in the fourth month, and on the 24th of the tenth month, 126 emigrants were shipped at Norfolk: about five months being all the time they had to organize the Society, prepare outfits, and raise a fund of \$8000 to charter a ship and defray the necessary expenses. That all this was done at a time of much opposition to Colonization, is really wonderful, and augurs well for the general enterprise.

The direct and incidental effects of Colonization are not limited to a qualified benefit to the free blacks alone, but comprehend in their wide range the cause of

emancipation—the extinction of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa.—For the accomplishment of these great purposes, an extensive region of sea coast has been selected on the western side of the African continent, stretching 280 miles from the river Gallinas on the North, to the territory of Kroosettra on the South. The actual jurisdiction of the Colony at present extends 150 miles from Cape Mount to Trade Town; between these points is beautifully situated the Bassa Cove Colony; a few leagues beyond the Northern limits of Liberia, stretches the more ancient settlement of Sierra Leone; and at its Southern extremity stands the flourishing little establishment of Cape Palmas. A glance at the map of Africa discovers a line of sea-coast from North to South of 500 miles, which is now dotted with colonies which have been formed in the adventurous and grand experiment of Colonization. The selection made, it is believed, embraces more advantages of fertility, site, salubrity, and commerce, than any other which the extensive Western coast of Africa affords.

Such is the country in which the Colonization Society has invited the colored man in America to fix his permanent habitation—it offers him “without money and without price,” a home of freedom and plenty in the land of his fathers. It offers him a sanctuary from wrong and persecution. But in presenting the invitation, its duty is performed, and it goes no further; it disavows all constraint or compulsion, for these would imply an authority which it does not possess. Although it has been industriously circulated both in England and America, that expatriation without their consent has been practised upon the emigrants from this country to Liberia by the Colonization Society, yet why should it?—as it is a well-known fact, that there has generally been since the Colony was settled, a far greater number of emigrants willing and anxious to go than the funds of the Society were adequate to send: sometimes hundreds, now thousands more. That this is a fact, the minutes of the meeting for sufferings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, and the book of records of the correspondence between the clerk of said meeting for sufferings, and the Secretary and shipping agents of the Colonization Society amply testify.* This meeting, and the Trustees of the Yearly Meeting, to whom is conveyed the title of these colored people as slaves, have been ardently engaged in sending them to free governments, having never obtained a law for their legal emancipation, though we have petitioned the Legislature of North Carolina frequently for fifty years. In the course of the last ten years we have sent to free governments upwards of a thousand: several hundreds of these chose to go to Liberia, and our Committees and Agents have at various times been employed in preparing them with outfits and conducting them to Norfolk, the place of embarkation. Had they discovered any compulsory traits in the acting Agents of the Colonization Society, they should have immediately broken off all connexion and correspondence with it.

It is more than probable that if there never had been any greater number of slaves in the Southern States than there were in the Northern, when they passed laws for abolition, the South would have abolished slavery before now, and would even now, if there were no greater proportion of colored people than there are in the Northern States. It may be seen in the census of 1830, that a population of three millions in the Southern States have manumitted sixty thousand more of the African race, including their offspring, than a population of five millions have in the Northern States. This conspicuous and incontrovertible fact, ought at once to settle the controversy between the North and the South, about the merit of abolition, and unite both in generous aid of Colonization. In the above calculation, the colored population of the free Western States is not included; there are about fourteen thousand of them, who, I apprehend, emigrated mostly from the slave States. And probably many of the colored population in the North emigrated from the South. Some may object to this fact being in favor of the South, on account of the greater number there to take the emancipated from, but the people of the North ought not to make this objection until they emancipate all within their limits, as there is yet a remnant of slaves in almost all the free States, and at the time of the above census, 403 slaves in Pennsylvania,† and 2254 in New Jersey.

* The author is recorder of said letters and epistles.

† Is not this a slow way of abolishing slavery? the Pennsylvania enactment had been in operation fifty years, and it may be fifty years more before they will all be free.

Before I close this narrative of facts, I will add a few more. The States of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, have been for several years past investigating the subject of slavery in connexion with Colonization. Since the Colony was founded, many individuals in various parts of the slave States have manumitted their slaves and sent them to Liberia, and there has been a great increase of concern in religious Societies in the South for the Christian instruction of their slaves: in some of their printed circulars and addresses, they pourtray the injustice and evils of slavery, if not directly, yet very discreetly and pathetically, and we Southern Abolitionists believe that these facts and effects have been hastened and greatly assisted by the influence of Colonization. There has been a regular increase of disposition to emigrate from the South to Liberia, since the Colony was founded, and I have no doubt that if the colonies were of sufficient capacity to receive them, and the Colonization Society had adequate funds to defray the expense, *ten thousand* would emigrate the present year, and that the number will increase in proportion to the increase of the dimensions and the capacity of the colonies, and the funds that may be applied to that purpose, there ought to be no doubt. The unwillingness of the *Northern* colored people to go, has been often urged as a paramount objection to the plan; but it ought to be considered of but small concern, as they are greatly in the minority of the whole free colored people of the United States, and but a handful when compared with the great numbers of their Southern brethren in slavery; and even if the *free* colored people were *all* opposed to going, that ought not to be an objection to the enterprise, for if the emancipated or free will not go, the slaves will, that have the opportunity, and thousands and tens of thousands of them will make better citizens for the colonies than many of the free-born people of colour in this country.

Thus, it appears, from a review of these unvarnished and incontrovertible facts, that Colonization is better adapted to the safe, certain, and peaceful abolition of slavery, and to effect the real freedom of the African race, than any other plan yet devised. May it not be said, that it has done more for them in about twelve years, than all the Northern legislative enactments and Abolition Societies have effected in fifty years? *It is not Colonization that impedes the growth of emancipation, or retards legislative interference for abolition, but the want of it.* Could there have been a million of dollars annually applied from the first settlement at Liberia in 1822, it might have received sixty thousand emigrants in 1832, with less embarrassment than it did one thousand about that time. I have made the calculation upon fair arithmetical principles from the present numbers in the Colony, and what the whole establishment has cost. And now the experiment is fairly and clearly exhibited to the world. "Let the friends of the African race, by mental and moral culture, prepare them for self-government in their father land; let them unfold to the free blacks the advantages which are likely to accrue to themselves, their brethren, and posterity, from erecting free governments in Africa; let them inform them of the benefits and enjoyments of civil liberty, and perfect equality in a region destined by nature, both in its climate and productions, for their exclusive possession. Let them awaken their desire to be the founders of a future commonwealth:—to be virtuous and enlightened—rich in the ownership of multiplied blessings, and widely diffusive in the effects of example and influence." If they do this, we shall find these descendants of Cush, (whose ancestors are in sacred history said to be "a nation terrible from the beginning," Isaiah, chap. xviii., but now long oppressed, scattered, and peeled,) will again develop those latent capacities and native energies which so remarkably distinguished them in ancient history, in which it is said, "at the time when the rest of the world was in a state of barbarism, the Ethiopian family were exhibiting prodigies of human genius, at which mankind have not yet ceased to wonder, and they have never so much as dreamt of being able to transcend." Distinguished above other men for learning, enterprise and fortitude, they swayed the sceptre of power, and spread the arts of civilization over the nations of the earth for more than a thousand years; to whom we are indebted, says a celebrated modern historian, "not only for our arts and sciences, but for the language that we speak." Civilization has often been exhausted in one country as it was awakened in another, but that which it may be our privilege to roll back like a bright flood upon the regions of ignorance and barbarism in Africa by Colonization, may be blended with the light that comes down from heaven, that can never be extinguished—the light of the gospel, which can change them from being a terrible nation as at the beginning—and make them a gentle nation in the end, and "free indeed."

By Colonization we may also remunerate them for their long and grievous sufferings and servitude in our land. Let us consider the great length of time they have been in slavery, and the millions now in slavery;—the hundreds of thousands of emancipated who have received no remuneration for their former labors, and are suffering various privations;—and the multitudes serving an apprenticeship in the West Indies:—let us take a view of the whole forty millions who have perished under the iron hand of slavery. If we were charged for all the personal abuses that have been inflicted upon them, and for their abundant labors, according to the legal and common decisions of our judiciary tribunals;—besides the guilt, there would be a fearful odds against us—a great sum—perhaps incalculable by mortals, but clearly known by the Judge of all the earth; and though his mercies have been long extended to the inhabitants of the United States and Great Britain, and are still continued over all his works, yet his justice will not sleep for ever. A mighty debt is doubtless due from us to Africa for her stolen and oppressed children;—a great account unbalanced in the sanctuary of Divine justice; the consideration of which is calculated to awaken in us awful reflections;—to arouse the deepest sympathies and energies of our souls, to do all in our power to restore the African race to their native, inherent rights and dignities; this is no more than God requires and man approves. It will doubtless be very difficult, if not impossible, for us to do them ample justice while they remain in this country. And here I need not be told of disbelieving in the power of the Gospel, and the practical influence of Christianity, to effect an equality. I firmly believe it is the will of Jehovah, and perfectly consistent with every precept of the Gospel—with every doctrine and principle of Christianity, that they should be transplanted to their fatherland. It is in accordance with his manner of deliverance of nations from slavery and captivity, as recorded in Sacred History. The just and munificent acts of the Almighty in emancipating the Israelites from bondage in Egypt, and from captivity in Babylon;—disposing the Egyptians and Babylonians not only to furnish them with the necessary means for the great expedition from Egypt and from Babylon, to the land of their fathers, but loading them with riches, when compared with the cold and calculating plans of expediency devised by modern legislatures and professed philanthropists, in disposing of the African race, might warrant us to exclaim of the latter, as the prophet did of the state of backsliding Israel, “Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off, for truth is fallen in the streets and equity cannot enter.” Isaiah, lix. 14.

Notwithstanding the greatness of the scheme of Colonization has made it appear chimerical, and the grandeur of the object has given it a visionary aspect, yet it is evident from the general influence of its operations, as exhibited in Africa, and in the present state of the public mind in the United States, especially in the South, that it is not only practicable, but, that with the continued favor of Divine Providence, nothing will probably hinder its regular and increasing progress but the want of funds commensurate with the disposition to emigrate, and for the necessary preparation in Liberia to render it as comfortable and desirable a home for our colored population as it may and can be made.

Now if we consider in connection with the special objects of Colonization, and the important advantages that must necessarily result to our own nation in the progress and final completion of the enterprise; together with the immense debt due from us to Africa and the African race; does not the subject loudly call for the application of the means that have been wisely committed to the government of the Union, “for securing the domestic tranquillity—for providing for the necessary defence, and promoting the general welfare?” Will not our General Government and the State Legislatures indeed be guilty of a highly culpable neglect of the great and important duties devolved upon them, if they shall continue to regard with cold indifference the great evil of slavery and the general degradation of the free people of color;—an evil so sinful, so unjust, so various and so powerful in its operation; pervading in a greater or lesser degree, every section of our country, and affecting by its baleful influence, not only our morals and our politics, but our individual wealth, and endangering our national strength and prosperity? And as our public debt is now paid, and a surplus revenue of 9 or 10 millions annually pouring into the treasury of the nation, besides the possession of abundant resources to promote the great work of Colonization, to charter ships—to purchase agricultural implements and mechanical utensils—to erect various manufactories, &c. &c.. what reasonable or just excuse can now be made for with-

holding the necessary funds? And it matters not whether they be applied by Congress, or the State Governments, or individual donations, the effect will be the same,—“the work will go on, and the fabric of slavery will crumble to ruins.”

Or will the Government of Great Britain be clear without pouring a generous stream upon the master wheel of the moral engine for effecting Southern abolition—*Colonization!* Or will her millions given to hire other nations to relinquish the slave trade, and her 20 millions sterling contributed for abolition in her own dominions, expiate her guilt for the crime of planting slavery in America.

But independently of Legislative aid, it is doubtless completely within the power of the great civil and religious community of the United States, possessed of immense wealth and abundant means, by individual donations, to carry on the great work of Colonization, if there is but an humble obedience to the heart-cleansing and soul-expanding light of the gospel. And if with due and solid consideration of all the preceding facts and circumstances, we connect the civilization of Africa,—the whole presents to my mind the most cheering and ennobling theme of contemplation; it embraces not only the elevation of the colored race to the scale of freedom, equality, happiness and virtue, but it promises to enlarge the benefits of the scientific world, and to extend the wide boundaries of Christendom.”

I now appeal to the rich in the Northern and Eastern States, for *generous* donations in this great work;—but a work however generally approved by public opinion, cannot be carried on or effected without large and gratuitous aid. As many of the Southern people now wish to send their slaves to Liberia,—as their State laws do not admit of emancipation without deportation,—and as your enriching manufactories have been mainly supplied with cotton reared by the Southern slaves, (by which you have probably realized more clear profit than their masters,) can you do less than incur the expense of their emigration,—and provide them with suitable houses in Liberia? And as some of you have expressed an objection to aiding the Colony at Cape Montserado, on account of its self-defensive principles, you can have no objection upon that ground, to aiding the one lately settled at Bassa Cove, upon the principles of peace and temperance.

I appeal to the active opposers of Colonization for pecuniary aid, although this appeal involves a solecism; I am induced to make it from a hope that it will arrest your endeavors to close the purses of the benevolent against us; this being the only possible way that you can with all your talents and eloquence retard its progress. If you knew the general state of the South with regard to slavery, and the increasing sympathy and concern of thousands there for the Christian instruction of the slaves, who deeply deplore the evil, and would gladly put them in a better situation, than even to emancipate them to remain here, and if you were to consider the sovereignty of State rights in the Constitutional form of our Government, in legislating upon all subjects connected with legal and personal property, and if you knew how much your movements in the North of latter times, in opposing Colonization and pleading for universal and immediate emancipation, have hurt the feelings of the *real* friends to the African race, and how much you have soured the minds of legislative authorities in the South, and retarded the work of emancipation, you would, I believe, change your plan of operations. If you could come to the South clothed with Christian panoply, in the spirit of moderation and forbearance, with generous aid for Colonization, you might make deep and salutary impressions on the public mind.

It is not best to dwell much upon what should have been done in time that is past; but to endeavor to do all that we can at the present time under the influence of the light of the Gospel, and consistently with the principles of Christianity.—And as unhealthy and unsuitable as Africa may be represented to be by some, for the location of the colored race of this country, I have no doubt but that their Colonization may be effected with little loss of human life. I now appeal to all the wealthy citizens, both in the United States and Great Britain, for munificent aid to Colonization. In the spirit of humility and meekness, I beseech you to consult the Divine oracle in your consciences, that measure of the Holy Spirit which is the gift of God through Jesus Christ to all men, to lead them out of all error and into all truth, whether you can better apply a portion of that wealth which a bountiful Providence has committed to your trust, than by sending to Liberia the colored people of the United States who are willing to go.

And, finally, I appeal to all other classes, both in the North and the South—in Great Britain and the United States, who are possessed of adequate means—for pe-

cunary aid to this Christian, benevolent and great enterprise, and for the general instruction, melioration and happiness of the African race.

In connecting the foregoing facts—in making this appeal and laying them before the public, I have been prompted by a sense of duty, in love to my country, the African race, and to mankind. May the Lord, by the warming and enlightening influences of his good Spirit, more and more dispose men “to do justly, to love mercy, and walk humbly with Him.” So prayeth your friend,

J. HUBBARD.

Deep River, 3rd of 6th month, 1835.

DR. M'CONAUGHY'S ADDRESS.

In our last number (p. 272) we noticed the Address delivered on the 4th of July last, by the Rev. DAVID M'CONAUGHY, D. D., at a meeting of the Washington County (Pa.) Colonization Society, and intimated that it might appear in the present number. It is with much pleasure that we make room for the following extracts from that cogent and eloquent oration :

* * * * *

Colonization in a distant land, and the land of their forefathers was the expedient which God himself adopted in a case very similar—the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage. Their number was about the same as our colored population, and they were the natives of Egypt,—why not break off their bonds, and raise them there to an equal condition with their former masters? The reason seems to have been, that they were a different race of men, their habits and modes of thinking were different. The formation of one common race, by intermarriage, was regarded by God as inexpedient; and whilst their title to freedom was recognised, and sustained by special divine interposition, they must remove to Canaan. Doubtless very many of the Israelites would have preferred to remain in Egypt—many had expended the best labors of their lives there—*there*, were the graves of their ancestors, and many reasons of attachment. But these considerations did not avail—they by divine direction quit that land, and went in quest of that to which God directed, and where they could be more happy, and exert, more widely, a most propitious influence; so by Colonization, Africa is to be civilized and enlightened, whilst the colonists themselves become free and happy. My theory is, that a colored man has an equal right with any, and every other man, to education—personal freedom, and political privilege, unless his character or peculiar circumstances, in the providence of God, require the restriction, or denial of them. And now, I allege, that such circumstances exist in this country, especially in those States in which their number is very great. Those reasons, I have already stated; and how long they will operate, I cannot foresee. I know of only one expedient by which they can immediately obtain the freedom and privileges which it is desirable, and right that they should possess—and that is to avail themselves of the provisions of the Colonization Society. In so far as they can, and are willing to do so, they become emancipated and disenthralled—the slave becomes a freeman, and the freeman is elevated to the honor, and invested with the privileges of a citizen. His will shall operate as efficiently as any other in the enactment of laws and in the appointment of officers—and to any office to which he may be competent his way shall be unembarrassed and open. This is not a matter of reasonable expectation here. Suppose he were at once admitted to all the privileges of a citizen, what would be his chance for official distinction, or emolument; admit his competency, and still I ask, what is his chance? It would be one of the most remote probabilities, if it be allowed, to be even probable. In a class of men whom the community had never been accustomed to honor, against whom strong prejudice, right or wrong, had been long in operation—he only one among six white men, all eager to have honor and office themselves,—under such circumstances,

to allow him even a chance, is overrating all that his condition and circumstances promise. This is not the land in which his hopes of honor and of influence are cherished—an humble measure of privilege is the best which he can reasonably anticipate. His circumstances here will never permit him to rise. The incumbrances under which he is, will ever depress him—and from those cumbrous influences no acts of emancipation or privileges of citizenship, can ever relieve him. Where then, and how, can he gain the object he desires; and to which we admit that of right, he is entitled? Let him go to Liberia. If he desires thus to be free indeed, and is unable to go to that land of promise, and of freedom to his race,—let us aid him—let us endeavor to raise up the means of help for all such—let us endeavor to convince them all, as we can, of their true interests—let us, in their behalf, make our affectionate appeal to those who have now a legal control over them. Let us appeal to their names, their privileges and honors as freemen, and conjure them by the estimation in which they hold their own liberty, not to deny it to any of their fellow-men. The most serious and difficult impediment to the success and full accomplishment of this scheme exists in the dispositions of the colored population. They do not sufficiently value liberty and the means of personal elevation and self-government. If they were animated by the spirit of liberty and independence, they would be eager and impatient to reach Africa. If they felt as the pilgrim fathers, they would hasten from the land in which they have been degraded, and in which they can never reach the elevation to which they should aspire. They who are free, and have long been free, with very few exceptions, are contented with the most menial employments; and were they all liberated, I would anticipate at the end of a century hence, but little advance in their condition—and but little augmentation of the spirit which should animate freemen. There are at present, and if I mistake not, there must always be, in this country, circumstances which will continue their depression, smother their noble aspirations, and perpetuate a feeling of inferiority, inconsistent with the true dignity of men. I have little hope that Colonization will have its desired success, or that any other scheme will do much good, until a desire of independence and self-government shall pervade and rouse and elevate the views of our colored population; and then, they will no longer be contented with the hopes that this country sets before them. They will seek a country and government of their own, and where no overwhelming population of another race shall depress them, and hold over them an indisputable ascendancy.

I have for some years, indulged delightful and flattering anticipations for Africa, and her injured race. I will explain them: My hope is, that ere long, some of the wealthy and intelligent of the colored people, in this country, and many such there are, will regard with deeply felt and operative sympathy, their degraded fellows, and make some generous and determined efforts for their moral and political elevation. In order to this, they will remove to Africa, with as many as they can induce to accompany them; and there, become the founders of cities and empire. Those cities will become the busy marts of commerce, and those generous and aspiring adventurers will find themselves largely rewarded. They will accumulate wealth, and be honored as Patriots and Benefactors; and whilst they rear an enduring monument to their own honorable fame, will open prospects and offer inducements which will be constraining and attractive to every aspiring and honorable man of color in these United States. Then it will be a more ungracious and more difficult matter to induce them to stay, than it now is, to persuade them to go. I know of no purpose more honorable, more benevolent, and even more gainful, to which an intelligent and wealthy colored man could devote his life and means—his zeal and his utmost efforts. He would thus enrol his name for perpetual glory, with the Pilgrim Fathers—with Penn, Washington, Howard and other admired and admirable Philanthropists. There are many colored men in the U. States, to whom, had I access, could I approach their ears, their understandings and their hearts—I would say, “Providence opens before you the path to glory—it offers you the opportunity of being eminently the benefactors of man.” Like Moses, Aaron and Joshua, go—lead the oppressed to possessions, liberty, empire and happiness,—all that is necessary, is, that confiding in the God of Nature, you form your purpose, and wisely and steadily pursue your object. Public opinion here, will sustain you—no plagues will be necessary to secure permission for you to operate, and to operate with all desirable effect. America, as a nation, hears and owns the voice of God, and will not forbid the oppressed to go. Philanthropic

and pious white men have shown you the way to prosecute the design—yours be the honor and the elevated bliss of carrying it into full accomplishment. Colonization, operating by its present means, and contending with present hindrances, cannot accomplish all—your consent and co-operation are indispensable—or rather, I say the work in its greatness and completeness, must be yours.

This leads me to notice an objection to the Colonization Scheme which has often been urged, and with much effect. That its actual effects have been small, and that its greatest efforts cannot furnish the remedy which the case demands—and therefore it ought to be abandoned. To this I reply, that the first affirmation is in contradiction to numerous most interesting and momentous facts. It has accomplished much, and that in defiance of neglect and opposition. But had its success been much less—would it follow that the Scheme is wanting in wisdom or benevolence? If it does, the same reasoning will prove that Christianity is not wise or benevolent. It has been operating on the world for more than eighteen centuries—and what has it accomplished? Comparatively little. Is it therefore not divine? Ought it therefore to be abandoned? Every Christian will indignantly answer—No. The fault is not in Christianity, nor in the plan for its diffusion and extension. The blameworthy causes are the defective zeal and efforts of its professed friends, and the opposition of its enemies—and the inexcusable indifference and resistance of those for whose good it was designed to operate. And these are precisely the causes which have prevented Colonization from effecting comparatively more than the much that has already been done. A cause which demanded the zealous patronage of every Christian and every Philanthropist in our land—has been favored by comparatively few—and by fewer still has it been sustained with liberality and zealous effort. What cause could have prospered more, without more efficient aid? Here the American people have much blame. The unbelief, heedlessness, pride and ignorance of the colored population, have operated and still operate as mighty hindrances—just as ignorance, pride and indifference retard the progress and triumphs of the Gospel. And Colonization, like the cause of Christ, has been opposed by potent and zealous adversaries. God is overruling it, and I trust, will yet more abundantly overrule it for good—but the direct effect is hindrance and delay. Between these two causes, Christianity and Colonization, in these respects, there is a remarkable analogy; and the argument, if it be good against one, must be good against the other. I believe both are of God, and will ultimately triumph. I covet the honor and the felicity of being auxiliary to both.

I have already adverted to the fierce opposition which is made, and heavy condemnation pronounced upon the conduct of Colonizationists in accepting of slaves liberated for removal to Africa. In reply, I refer to the right in masters recognized by our social compact—and the impossibility, in law, of our obtaining their emancipation, unless the owners choose to liberate, and consequently their legal right to fix the terms. But I add, that to deny this privilege to the Colonization Society, would create insuperable embarrassment to very many pious benevolent masters, who mourn over the burthens and evils of slavery. Their case is this:—They wish to escape from the condition of slaveholders. How can they? The laws by which they are governed, and which they cannot change, forbid to manumit their slaves, and allow them to remain. Other States, even Pennsylvania, will not permit them to bring them here, and set them free, but on condition that they shall indemnify the community against the charge of their support so long as they live. What escape from this difficulty can such an one have? I know of none else than that which Colonization affords—if this be refused, his only alternative is to hold them. But if he be allowed to manumit them for Colonization, he cannot hesitate to avail himself of it—because he has every reason to believe that they would thus be disposed of incomparably more to their own advantage, than in any other way. They might prefer another way, but they are not competent to judge—and he will do with them as a prudent father would do with a minor, weak-minded or spendthrift son—control and direct him, and make the best choice he can to improve his character, protect his person, prevent his ruin, and promote his happiness. Would not that son thus raised to intelligence, virtue and happiness, admire and be thankful for his prudence and benevolence? Certainly, and intelligent emigrants to the Colony even now, thank the Society for sending them there. This affirmation is placed beyond all fair contradiction by numerous letters from Colonists in Africa to this effect—and by the personal report of intelligent and

credible colored men who have resided for a time in Liberia, and revisited this country. They may have gone reluctantly, but now find, by experience, that it was best; so it will be with thousands more: and I feel persuaded, that if our more intelligent and industrious colored men were twelve months in Africa, it would allay all this opposition and prejudice, and make them as zealous for Colonization as they are now against it.

Mercy to the slave, relief to the conscience of him who holds him, and the diffusion of the spirit of emancipation—the love of God and the love of man—all, all, plead in justification of those means of Emancipation and Colonization—all bid us to encourage them by our commendation and our prayers, and to aid and sustain them by our generous contributions. Hail Colonization! thou friend of mercy, of liberty and of man. May he, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, give thee more abundant favor with our citizens—and by his propitious providence, hasten thy triumphs—and thy glorious consummation!

DR. PROUDFIT'S ADDRESS TO EMIGRANTS.

The Address of the Rev. Dr. Proudfit to the Emigrants, on embarking for the Colony recently established at Bassa Cove, contains so much wholesome advice, applicable to Colonists in any part of the Liberian Territory, that we have for some time anxiously awaited an opportunity of inserting it in the Repository. It is as follows:

ADDRESS.

Respected and beloved Friends:

The moment for which you have been anxiously longing, and many of you, I trust, fervently praying, has at length arrived. You are now embarking for the land which must be dear to you, as it contains the sepulchres and the venerated ashes of your forefathers; where you will sit undisturbed “beneath the shadow of your own vine,” in the full fruition of your rights, civil, social and religious; and probably the actual enjoyment of these privileges cannot afford more exquisite pleasure to you than it is gratifying for us to reflect, that we have been honored as the instruments of imparting them. Be assured that, although your lot will be cast in a distant part of the world, and we will probably never see you again “in the flesh,” we consider our own happiness as intimately blended with yours; we will not fail to remember you in our prayers at the throne of our common Father; we will always rejoice to hear of your prosperity and joy, and be ready to sympathize with you in whatever afflictions you may be called to endure. Recollect at the same time, that your situation is highly, and I may add, awfully responsible; results are involved in your future behaviour unspeakably interesting to us, to you, to your colored brethren whom you leave behind you, and to the unnumbered millions of Africa, whose welfare, both temporal and spiritual, we wish through you as the instruments to promote. If you are careful to improve the privileges which you have in prospect, our hands, as your benefactors, will be strengthened; our hearts will be animated to persevering exertions in meliorating the miseries of your race, and the blessings of generations unborn may rest on our heads and your own. But, should any of you after reaching your new settlement, prove idle, untoward, or vicious, our efforts in the cause of colonizing must be paralysed, and your colored friends in this country who might have been liberated, may be doomed to languish for ages in the chains of oppression. Therefore, in taking our final farewell of you for time, we feel constrained to offer, in the spirit of love, the following directions for regulating your future conduct:

1st. Attend with diligence to the duties of your several stations. Industry in some lawful pursuit, is the honor and interest of every man; it is ornamental to himself and useful to others, and without it neither prosperity nor respect can be expected in any part of the world. It was ordained by our Creator that we “should

eat bread by the sweat of our face, till we return to the ground," and we are taught in the oracles of truth, that "he who will not work shall not eat:" we are also commanded to "labor with our own hands," that is, to be industrious in some calling, "that we may have to give to those who need;" and while diligence in business is equally your duty, and interest, and honor, idleness and sloth must be considered as demoralizing and degrading in the extreme. Many of your colored brethren, who have gone before you to Liberia, by their honorable enterprise, have already acquired not only a competency, but an independence, and the path to wealth lies open for you by the same attention to business.

2nd. Adhere strictly to the principles of temperance, of which your settlement is designed to be a *model*. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the baneful consequences of indulging in the use of spirituous liquors, or any intoxicating drink. Who can calculate the number of your color, and of our own, who have been led to ruin for time and eternity, by the vice of intemperance: you must know from observation that it necessarily destroys the health, wastes the property, blights the reputation, and at last exposes to endless perdition the soul of its miserable victim.—"Who hath wo? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. At last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder." We therefore beseech you, beloved friends, by all that is desirable in the present world, or in the future, "touch not, taste not, handle not," the intoxicating cup; "avoid it, pass not by it, its way is the way to hell, leading down to the chambers of death." There is no safety but by entirely abstaining from every species of liquor. There is no victory over this enemy but by retreat. Besides, temperance in eating and drinking constitutes your principal security against those diseases which occasionally prevail in that hot climate where you expect to reside.

3rd. Pursue a course of the most rigid economy in every part of your living.—Industry in acquiring property can be of little advantage without suitable caution in the use of it. Many are laborious all their days, and yet through imprudence and extravagance, are always poor and dependent, and at last are thrown on the charity of others for support. But by prudence and industry, you have the prospect, under the divine blessing, of laying up a comfortable provision for sickness or old age; you will thus possess the means of supplying the wants of the indigent and helpless around you, and may be able, in due time, to assist us in diffusing the light of divine truth through the land of your fathers, which is yet covered with the shades of moral night.

Again, in all your dealings with the natives, be strictly upright. By all that respect which you owe to us, your benefactors, and as you regard your own peace and happiness in that new world where you expect to spend the residue of your days, *never, never* take advantage of their ignorance or credulity; be guilty of no action which might tend to shake their confidence in you as their sincere friends; but by a deportment upright and amiable, endeavor to soften down any prejudices which they entertain against us, on account of those cruelties which they have experienced from unprincipled white men. Assure these poor natives in Africa, that we sympathize with them in all that they have suffered from such by having their dear relatives torn from them, and sold as slaves in other countries; that by the establishment of colonies along their coast, we hope to put an end to this inhuman traffic; that we wish also to repair as much as possible the injuries thus sustained by giving them that gospel which "makes wise unto salvation," and promoting among them the arts of civilized life. In short, by the display of "all that is lovely and of good report," aim at securing their confidence and affections, and thus prepare them for the reception of that religion which is our glory, and which we wish to propagate among them for their present and eternal welfare.

But, above all, my beloved friends, "fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man;" without an interest in his favor, every other enjoyment is vanity here, and will issue in vexation and disappointment forever. Therefore, "seek first" and principally, "the kingdom of God and His righteousness." This our Master has pronounced "*the one thing needful, the good part which will never be taken away, the meat which endureth to everlasting life,*" and He has admonished us that "*a man is not profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul.*" What will it avail you to obtain freedom from slavery to man if you should continue to

wear the more galling yoke of Satan, and be bound hereafter "in everlasting chains." And while you "give all diligence" to secure your own salvation, let your light shine on the benighted regions of Africa. Let the millions of that country, who are ignorant of our divine religion, be convinced of its reality and excellence, by the blamelessness of your lives, who are recognised as its professors and friends. Never forget that it is a fundamental article of that society under whose patronage you expect to enjoy these privileges, to provide "for civilizing and christianizing Africa, through the instrumentality of colored emigrants from the United States." As many of you have assumed the name, see that you imbibe the spirit and imitate the example of Him "who was holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners." It is an encouraging fact, that in the country of your forefathers there is seemingly a "shaking among those bones" which have been lying motionless for ages; that many of the poor, perishing Pagans are occasionally calling at our colonies to hear of that Jesus "who came into the world to save sinners;" they have felt their moral diseases, and are anxiously inquiring whether there is no "balm in Gilead," and physician to apply it. Let every opportunity of this nature be zealously improved for giving them the knowledge of redemption through the blood of Jesus; relate to them the "tidings of great joy," that for us a "Saviour is born, even Christ the Lord;" that He is a "propitiation for the sins of the whole world;" and that whosoever, of any color, "feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him."

"With these few instructions, beloved friends, we bid you an affectionate farewell; "be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace," and the God of love and peace shall be with you. May that ever present, Omnipotent Being, "who sits on the floods;" whose voice "the winds and waves obey," protect you on the "mighty deep;" may he prosper you in your voyage, and convey you in safety to the shores of the land of your fathers."

By order of the Executive Committee.

ALEX. PROUDFIT,

Gen. Agent, and Cor. Sec. of the N. Y. Col. Soc.

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR TYLER,

AT THE GLOUCESTER MEETING.

Mr. TYLER said, that he had promptly and unhesitatingly attended at the present meeting upon being invited to do so. He would be frank and declare, that as a resident of the county, he had resolved to attend before their invitation reached him, and from the moment he had heard that the people were in motion. He had, however, had no hand in putting them in motion. These were times in which no man who was attached to the Union of the States, (and he could solemnly declare that no one was more sincerely so than himself,) and the peace and tranquillity of the country, could properly remain at home an inattentive and passive spectator of what was passing. After the lapse of more than half a century, during which time all had acquiesced in the undisturbed condition of things as they were; and the most unexampled prosperity had blessed us and the land bequeathed to us as an inheritance by our forefathers, a new sect has arisen, possessed, pretendedly, of nicer sensibilities, a more refined moral sense, and greater love of the human race, than those who have gone before them; who were disposed to manifest their superiority in all these particulars, by setting the people of these States by the ears, and threatening the overthrow of political institutions which have been the source of unmeasured happiness, and which we had fondly hoped to hand over to our posterity as the richest legacy we could leave them. Nor are their pretensions and their movements confined to native-born citizens of the several States, who may have been misled into the belief, that it was sufficient for a mere majority to will in order to enforce; but a foreign emissary had dared to venture across the broad Atlantic to aid in this work. I confess, Mr. Chairman, that I regard it as not among the least portentous signs of the times, that native-born citizens should gather themselves together to listen to anathemas uttered against their own breth-

ren, by a feed and paid emissary, who comes here to teach *them* the principles of civil liberty and the rights of humanity. When was it before that this would have been tolerated? The day has been, when every man's hand would have fallen in weight to crush a reptile, who had crawled from some of the sinks of Europe, with the reward of an emissary in his hand, to sow the seeds of discord among us. For my own part, I cannot think of this with patience. Are the sons of revolutionary sires so much degenerated, as to be dependent on foreigners to teach them lessons of political ethics?—or is it come to this, that every plotter of mischief from abroad, is to be received in our household, to instruct us in our duties as citizens? Mr. Tyler expressed the fear that the toleration which had been practiced towards Thompson, manifested a condition of feeling at war with the perpetuity of our institutions.

He said, that it had sometimes happened, that political parties on this side of Mason's and Dixon's line, had attempted to strengthen their cause by raising an apprehension that our domestic institutions were in danger. For himself, so far as his limited influence had extended, he had sought to quiet all apprehension on this subject among his fellow-citizens. He had always regarded it as altogether too vital a question to be used as an instrument of party. It was a question on which there could be but one party on this side of the line alluded to; and he was happy to find that all hearts and all hands were cordially united as those of one man.—He had never, until lately, believed that any serious head could be made in the U. States upon the subject—much less had he feared that the spirit of incendiarism would be permitted by the States to walk abroad in the face of day, unrestrained and unchecked. These feelings and sentiments had been forced to give place to others. The unexpected evil is now upon us; it has invaded our fire-ides, and under our own roof is sharpening the dagger for midnight assassination, and exciting to cruelty and bloodshed. The Post Office Department, which was established for the purposes of commercial interchange, or to transport from remote places the friendly greetings of those of kindred blood, has been converted into a vehicle for distributing incendiary pamphlets, with which our land is at this moment deluged. A society has sprung up, whose avowed object is to despoil us of our property at the hazard of all and every consequence. It had been his duty, occupying as he did a public station which devolved on him the obligations of a sentinel, to watch over the rights and interests of Virginia, to make himself acquainted, as far as practicable, with the rise and progress of that society, and with its means to do mischief; and his opinion was, that it was now powerful, and if not speedily checked in its mad career, was destined to attain much greater power. He had seen it in its origin some two years ago, consisting of a mere handful of obscure persons, who were the subjects of ridicule from one end of the Union to the other. That small association, thus despised, and thus contemned, has already established 250 auxiliaries, and at a single meeting contributed \$30,000 towards the furtherance of its schemes,—one half of which sum was paid down promptly. It had established various presses, four of which circulated from the city of New York, with copies of three of which, they had been so *extremely kind* as to favor us through the mail. These papers were circulated gratuitously among us, and at mere nominal prices to actual subscribers. He had then in his possession, one of those publications, and he would exhibit it for the inspection of those present—(He here drew from his pocket the Anti-Slavery Record.) Here, said he, is a picture upon the external covering, designed to represent each of you, gentlemen. A scourge is in your hand, and three victims bound and kneeling at your feet. You are represented as demons in the shape of men; and by way of contrast, here stand Arthur Tappan, Mr. Somebody Garrison, or Mr. Foreigner Thompson, patting the greasy little fellows on their cheeks, and giving them most loving kisses. *They* are the exclusive philanthropists—the only lovers of the human race—the only legitimate defenders of the religion of Christ. But I purpose to show you the cheap rate at which these papers are delivered out to actual subscribers. (He read from the external sheet: "Human Rights 25 cents per annum—Anti-Slavery Record \$1 50 per hundred—Emancipator (a paper larger than the Whig or Enquirer) 50 cents per annum—"Slave's Friend," single number, one cent. He had not seen the "Slave's Friend;" judging, however, from the other papers he concluded it to be a misnomer. It should rather be called the *slave's enemy*, since its circulation among us, in company with its three adjuncts, had produced a curtailment of privileges heretofore willingly, nay, gladly granted by the master to his slaves, and

which, before these fanatical teachers had arisen in the land, were gradually and daily becoming greater and greater. In addition to these, there was a numerous tribe of tracts, and he believed, prints designed to make impression on the minds of children. Here, then, Mr. Chairman, are evidences of a powerful combination—here some of the means relied upon. Look into the contents of this little pamphlet; you will find it full of stories of the white man's cruelty and the negro's suffering—Garbled statements are herein contained to stir up the feelings of our Northern brethren against us. Let me read to you one statement made by a reverend or irreverend divine, a Mr. Boardman, of New York. He read—"I remember in my boyhood of seeing a colored man driving a cart, and by some accident, he was precipitated from his seat and crushed to death; but when the alarm began to spread, I heard it said, 'Oh! it is only a poor negro who is killed'—but oh! thought I, it is a man." Most sympathetic Mr. Boardman, what a tender-hearted little boy you were! But, gentlemen, what say you, is this picture true or false, as to the sensibility or feeling of a Southern man in behalf of a suffering human being, whether black or white. (False, false—unitedly echoed.) And yet, said Mr. Tyler, by such and kindred means, do these libellers of the South seek to attain their nefarious ends.

When he came to be informed, that numbers of the reverend clergy to the North, were lending themselves to this work, he could not doubt but that it would grow into greater magnitude.—All felt and acknowledged their influence—standing as Pastors at the head of their flocks, teaching the divine truths of religion, they were entitled to all respect and reverence—but when, abandoning their proper sphere, they rushed into the troubled waters of politics—when, instead of a mild and meek observance of their religious rites and ceremonies, they sought to overturn systems—when, instead of being the ministers of peace and good will, they officiated at the altar of discord, and contributed their influence to excite general disturbance and discontent, they deserved the scorn and contempt of mankind. Did their and our divine Master commission them upon such an errand? When he bade his followers "to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars," he taught a lesson to rebuke the present agitators. But these men wear the cloak of religion, and they mean that their influence shall be felt. Woman is to be made one of the instruments to accomplish their mischievous purposes. The same Mr. Boardman has declared that he appeals "to woman's sympathies, woman's efforts, woman's prayers." Yes woman is to be made the instrument of destroying our political paradise, the Union of these States—she is to be made the presiding genius over the councils of insurrection and civil discord—she is to be converted into a fiend to rejoice over the conflagration of our dwellings, and the murder of our people. Most admirable divine—most excellent christian! Under such counsels and such counsellors, she is already lending herself to those fanatical schemes. I state a fact, which my situation as chairman of the District of Columbia committee of the Senate the last winter brought to my knowledge: A petition was presented to the Senate and referred to that committee, praying the abolition of slavery in the District, signed by 1500 women. Several other petitions on the same subject were presented, and I stood prepared to report against them. I had prepared a temperate report, addressed to the sober reason of the country, which I was anxious to make; but it was thought better by others, that the subject should not be touched, lest greater agitation should be produced. I thought then, and still think, that the sooner the matter was met, the better. When the cloud is visible, charged with lightning, which is designed to break upon my head, let me not hear the thunder rolling at a distance—The sooner it comes, if come it must, the better. Such then are the means which are now invoked by the Abolitionists—such their growth, and such their resources. I am told, that they are also addressing themselves to the growing generation, through horn books and primers—that the youthful imagination is filled with horror against us and our children, by images and pictures exhibited in the nursery. How are they to be met and overthrown? I believe that they can only be met successfully, by a firm and decided course on our part: Timid counsels but too frequently betray. The attention of the whole people of the North must be awakened to a knowledge of the true state of things; and I am pleased to see that the good old town of Boston is already in motion. A meeting has been called by means of her most distinguished citizens. It behooved her to take the lead. It is to be hoped that she will give back from Fanueil Hall, as in former times, the voice which has reached her from Virginia. Her example, I trust, will be followed in quick succession by other towns and cities. These proceedings would do much towards al-

laying the excited feelings of the day. But mere declarations of public meetings to the North will not suffice. We have a right to call for measures of coercion on the part of our sister States,—Virginia and the other Southern States, should make a demand for legislation. Her peace is daily threatened through the actions of the fanatics—the lives of her people are placed in jeopardy—nothing short of penal enactments will do:—For when did fanaticism ever listen to reason? The curse of the world, it is possessed of its own vain imaginings, to the exclusion of every thing else. It hath no eyes to see, no ears to hear. It drives onward, reckless of consequences, and its efforts at reform, terminate only with the destruction of human hopes. We have a right to ask that it shall be restrained by laws. If there existed a combination in our State to affect the lives and property of the people of any other State, should we hesitate to restrain and punish all who might be concerned? I answer, unhesitatingly, in the negative.—Unless there be immediate and active co-operation on the part of our co-States, I know not what is to be done. Are we forever to remain in the state of insecurity in which we now are? Is the Post-Office, emanating from a common centre, and pervading every part of our country, to be made continually the channel through which their incendiary and seditious pamphlets are to flow in upon us? This cannot be tolerated.—I have seen this Union twice in great danger. One of these occasions teaches me to fear the present.—When opposition was first made to admit Missouri into the Union, unless her people would submit to have a Constitution in part made for them by Congress, and the effort was made to exclude the southern man from carrying his domestics with him, on lands that had been purchased out of a common Treasury; but few were found bold enough to maintain so extravagant a claim to power—But one year elapsed, and a majority of Congress were found to be against us. I was an actor on the theatre of public affairs at that time; and insignificant as that question was in comparison with the present, it produced the most fearful agitations. But the darkness was not impenetrable, and the patriotism of the country was not appealed to in vain. I believe the signs now to be alarming and portentous, and requiring the most energetic action. Let us address ourselves in plain and emphatic terms to the people of our sister States. I trust that the recollections of the past—the days of glory we have seen together—the memory of our god-like ancestors—but above all, our mutual and reciprocal interests, will induce them to co-operate in quieting the disturbances which now so extensively prevail among us. Come what will, come what may, I am a citizen of Virginia, united with her in destiny and sealed to her by fate. Her sovereignty remains to her, and the allegiance of her citizens is due to her. She will claim, I doubt not, the fulfilment of constitutional guarantees. Upon the subject of her domestic institutions, I trust she will hold parley with none. They are her's, for good or for evil—her's and her's alone: for her to continue, and for her alone to change. No power on earth has a right to interfere with them without her consent; and she has full and perfect right to expect that her citizens shall be protected, as well from the approaches of the incendiary, as from open assault by force.

SPEECH OF HARRISON GRAY OTIS,

At the late Town Meeting at Faneuil Hall, in the City of Boston.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—I have been so little used of late years to address a full assembly of my fellow-citizens, that I do not feel a confidence that my voice and physical strength will enable me to make myself heard and understood as I may have done in the brighter and better season of my life. And though it is not my intention to tax your patience, I feel that I shall stand in need of all the indulgence which you have been pleased to extend to me before time and affliction had pressed upon me with their heavy hands. It is at the same time gratifying and discouraging to know that the most ample justice has been done to the subject on which we are convened, by the eloquence and talents of those who have preceded me—justice so ample, that I should not attempt to follow them but for the purpose of redeeming a pledge exacted by some of my partial friends, that I would, on this

occasion, (probably for the last time,) declare in this public assemblage my sentiments upon the scenes which are passing around us.

If I were called upon to select the most momentous occasion, on which the people of this country had ever been convened in their primary assemblies, my own judgment would point to the time when they met to decide upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution. There are few, I am confident, among those present, who can recollect that period, and the intense anxiety which then pervaded every bosom. The result of those deliberations has fully justified that universal sensibility. The national prosperity has far exceeded the most sanguine calculations of the men of those times. Yet a more momentous era will have arrived, if we imagine a state of public affairs, when the people shall meet in their primary assemblies to discuss the expediency of rescinding the Federal Compact. Had this compact been at first rejected by the people, it would indeed have been a calamitous issue. Still a frame of government of some sort would have been substituted, of which Union would have been the basis. The fraternal sympathies, the recollections of common dangers, and sufferings, and triumphs, were still alive, and the great fundamental axiom "United we stand, divided we fall," was adopted in every man's creed, and would have insured the preservation of a federal system. But if, after nearly half a century's experience of national prosperity, which is without parallel, and almost without measure—after realizing every political and social blessing that could be wished, and more than could be expected, consistently with the imperfection of all human institutions, the North and the South should be destined to separate, through the mere wantonness of prosperity, from the incompatibility of temper and family quarrels, the divorce will be eternal. Fraternal rancor, more bitter and unappeasable than that of natural enemies, will supplant the influence of mutual good will. The temple of liberty would first be rent in twain. What and how many unequal and misshapen forms the parts would afterwards assume, no human sagacity can foresee. But the uniform fate of all disjointed confederacies would compel us to renounce the hope of seeing it rebuilt upon its four and twenty pillars, "polished after the similitude of a palace." Now, sir, if it were the object of our meeting here to debate the expediency of taking measures for the abolition of slavery, I should regard it as identical with the question of the expediency of dissolving the Union. I am sure it would be so considered by the Southern States. My conviction results from forty years acquaintance with prominent individuals of those States, of all parties, and in all the vicissitudes of party. Be assured that whenever that question shall be agitated in our public assemblies, under circumstances which should indicate the prevalence or the probability of a general sentiment in the free States in favor of acting upon that subject, the Union will be at an end. They would regard all measures emanating from such a sentiment as war in disguise upon their lives, their property, their rights and institutions, an outrage upon their pride and honor, and the faith of contracts—menacing the purity of their women, the safety of their children, the comfort of their homes and their hearths, and, in a word, all that a man holds dear. In these opinions they might be mistaken, but in support of them they would exhibit a spectacle of unanimity unparalleled among so numerous a population upon any subject, at any time, in any part of the world. These opinions almost seem to be instinctive. They are in fact hereditary, and habitual from infancy to old age.—The citizens of those States have no occasion for meetings to compare sentiments, for speeches to stimulate to action, for plans to arrange and organize means of opposition. They would be ready in the case supposed for a *levy en masse*—a universal Landstrum—to seize and to use for life and for death whatever arms their impassioned resentment could furnish, to resist every approach to interference with their domestic relations. Meetings indeed they have already begun to call—but they are like the meetings of clouds charged with the same fiery material, the occasional flashes of which serve only to show the stores of hidden thunder which are in reserve.

Sir, happily for our country, there is no disposition in the people of this community, nor, I believe, of any of our cities or towns, to sustain a public discussion of a question pregnant with these fatal consequences. But the time has arrived which makes it the part of wisdom and safety to look at this question in the distance, and forestall its approach—to satisfy ourselves and others that it ought never to be entertained, except in the exercise and expression of individual judgment and opinion. And that every effort intended to propagate a general sentiment fa-

avorable to the immediate abolition of slavery, is of forbidding aspect and ruinous tendency.

It has of late become certain, though not yet perhaps generally known, that an Association has been formed in a neighboring State, for the avowed purpose of effecting the *immediate abolition of Slavery*. Their number is at present comparatively small and insignificant; but, as they boast, augmented within the last year. Their printed constitution and proceedings, seen by me only within a few days, frankly develop their desire to establish auxiliary societies in every State and municipality, and to enlist in the service of the cause, man, woman, and child. This simple statement shows it to be a dangerous association. A very rapid exposition of the tendency of their principles will prove them to be not only imminently dangerous, but hostile to the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the Union. I will, in order to make this apparent, call the recollection of my fellow-citizens to the history of the Constitution and to the Constitution itself; and compare the doctrines of the Constitution with the canons of the Anti-Slavery Association, and demonstrate that if the latter be not yet an unlawful Association (which some sound jurists think it is,) it is in a fair way to become so, by its design to trench upon the provisions of the Constitution by overt acts, and its tendency to break down the sacred palladium.

It is well known, I doubt not, to all who hear me, that prior to our Revolution, the American Colonies were, to all intents and purposes, independent of each other. They all owed a common allegiance to the mother country, and to that only. In every other political relation they stood to each other as distinct and sovereign States, and they were, in fact, entirely disconnected in all the departments of their civil administrations. Indeed, the people of the South and of the North knew little more of each other than that they had descended from a common ancestry, had different habits and pursuits, and that the cultivation of the soil was carried on in the North principally by white labor, and in the South entirely by that of slaves. Now, what first led to a better acquaintance? What but a magnanimous sympathy of the South in feelings excited in the North by the oppression of the parent country? When our soil was invaded, and this part of the country was the seat of war, we were ready and eager enough to invite them to come to our aid, to make with us common cause. I need not say how promptly they accepted the invitation, nor how cordially they assisted our forefathers in the cabinet, and how nobly in the field, but pass on to the epoch of the first Confederation. By this time the delegates in Congress from the different Colonies had become familiar with each other, and with the respective circumstances of the people of the different sections of the Union. The subject of slavery, and the claims of the proprietors over their slaves, must have been before them, and considered with great deliberation. We find provision in those articles for apportioning the troops to be raised for the public service, among the free white inhabitants of the several States, according to their numbers. In this article, the claim of the South to consider their slaves as ciphers, or non-entities, is acquiesced in, and confirmed by the North. Here was no surprise, no misunderstanding, no concealment of facts or of claims. Upon the faith of this confederation the South continued to act with us, and by means of it we triumphed together in war, and obtained the blessings of independence and peace. Now, sir, if we objected to leave in their hands the care of their own slaves, they should have been then advised of it. If it were intended to reserve to the North the arrogation of a right to interfere with them at a future day, the Confederation was a fraud. If this be only an after-thought, it comes too late.—Suppose an article had been proposed to the Congress that formed the instrument of Confederation, purporting that the Northern States should be at liberty to form Anti-Slavery Associations, and deluge the South with homilies upon slavery, how would it have been received? The gentleman before me has apostrophized the image of Washington. I will follow his example, and point to the portrait of his associate, Hancock, which is pendant by his side. Let us imagine an interview between them, in the company of friends, just after one had signed the commission for the other—and in ruminating upon the lights and shadows of futurity, Hancock should have said—"I congratulate my country upon the choice she has made, and I foresee that the laurels you gained in the field of Braddock's defeat, will be twined with those which will be earned by you in the war of independence; yet, such are the prejudices in my part of the Union against slavery, that although your name and services may screen you from opprobrium during your life, your countrymen, when the willow weeps over your tomb, will be branded by mine as

manstealers and murderers, and the stain of it consequently annexed to your memory." Would not such a prophecy have been imputed to a brain disturbed by public cares, and its accomplishment regarded as a mere chimera?

Having passed through the Revolutionary war, let us come down to the framing of the Federal Constitution. At this time, the spirit of the age had made great advances; the abhorrence of the slave trade, growing daily more extensive, was regarded as the harbinger of its final prohibition. The abominable traffic was not then in less disrepute than it is at this moment. Slavery, too, as a condition, and especially as a condition of a portion of the Union, was deplored at that time as sincerely and universally as it is now by the other portion. That this topic in all its bearings, was presented and examined when the Federal Constitution was being formed, is known to all acquainted with the history of those times, and may be conclusively inferred from the instrument itself. So far were the Northern States from assuming any pretension to regulate the interior economy of the Southern, that they were compelled to exempt them for ten years from the general operation of the laws regulating commerce, and allow the importation of slaves during that period. This constitutes a most important feature of the federal compact. It would alone be decisive on the subject. The right to import, implies inevitably the right to hold those who may be imported, and the right to hold includes that of government and protection, and excludes that of all direct interference by others. And no principle of morals permits men or States to attempt, by indirect and oblique modes, to elude the restraints of a plain and unequivocal obligation.— Another clause in the Constitution is a contract on the part of the non-slaveholding States, to seize and restore runaway slaves; but why restore when you have taught the slave that he has a right to freedom? Lastly, it was agreed by the clause apportioning representatives, that the master should, in reference to the Constitution, exercise all the political rights of the slave, and that he should be nothing.— Such, Fellow-Citizens, is the bargain which we, the people of the United States, have made with each other. In what age of the world, and among what people and States, was a compact ever made more solemn and sacred? It is plain and perspicuous. It was made with our eyes open, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances of the case, of all the inducements to make it, of all the objections that could be made against it. Every one of the people is bound to adhere to it. Every man who holds office has sworn to support it, and is perjured when by an appliance, direct or indirect, he attempts to annul its provisions. It speaks to every man's understanding, and binds every man's conscience by all that is sacred in good faith, or sound in good policy; and it has been in a train of peaceful execution for six and forty years.

Let us now consider whether the principles of the Anti-Slavery Associations do not conflict with the principles of this compact. In speaking of these Associations, I rely entirely upon the account they give of themselves and their objects. I make no personal allusions, and impeach no man's motives. From some of their printed documents which have lately come into my hands, I find the names of persons who are, I am told, of pious and respectable character; it would be strange were there not others (though I know nothing of them) of a different stamp. But let us look to their avowed and vaunted object, and if that be not unequivocally wrong and censurable in itself, their proposed means for the attainment of it are so altogether. The end of the institution is expressly stated to be the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the Union. They will have no temporizing measures. Whatever is to be done, must be done quickly. They are in such haste that they cannot lose time in periphrase, and so they have enriched the nomenclature with a new word—*immediatism*. This comprehends every thing, and is the opposite of *gradualism*, another new coinage; all which, being interpreted, means that they intend immediately to do that which, by the Constitution, they are restrained from doing at all. All other persons who may be favorable to a more slow and gentle process, are treated with sneers and contempt; the Colonization Society especially, who are gradualists, and the greatest enemies to the African race. Sir, I will not stop to debate the justifiableness of this end. Whether *immediate* abolition, if practicable, would be beneficial to master or man, is a theme I leave untouched, though I am entirely incredulous that it would be well for either. Still, for our present purpose, admit that it might be so, the associates will have found no justification unless their means are also free from objection. The first step adopted by them is to erect themselves into a *Revolutionary Society*, combined and

affiliated with Auxiliary and *Ancillary* Societies, in every State and community, large or small, in the Eastern and Western States. All men are invited to join in this holy crusade. The ladies are invoked to turn their sewing parties into abolition clubs, and the little children when they meet to eat sugar plums, or at the Sunday Schools, are to be taught that A B stands for abolition. Sir, I do not exaggerate—there is the book—[an Anti-Slavery pamphlet which lay on the table]—all I assert is there in substance; men, women and children are stimulated, flattered and frightened, in order to swell their numbers.

This picture of the Society fully supports my assertion, that it is revolutionary. It boldly professes its designs to be revolution in other States. The immediate abolition of slavery forced upon them by an extraneous pressure would be revolution in the strict sense of the word. It would change the civil polity—it would give political power to those who have none, and the dominant power to them in all places where they happen to be a majority of the population. This would be inevitable, supposing the object to be attained without a servile war. Now, I deny that any body of men can lawfully associate for the purpose of undermining, more than for overthrowing, the government of our sister States. There may be no statute to make such combinations penal, because the offence is of a new complexion. But they are not the less intrinsically wrong. This will be evident if the express intention of the Association was to operate upon the government of Cuba or of Russia, or even of Turkey. The sovereigns of those countries might and rightfully would demand the suppression of such combinations. The proclamations of neutrality and prohibitions upon our citizens to engage in foreign armaments, are founded on this doctrine of international law. The only distinction is that in one case the Abolitionists would violate the law of nations, while in the present they offend against the rights of their fellow-citizens in other States, and against the federal compact. To all this they have the temerity to answer that their construction of the Constitution is the same with that of Mr. Webster and other jurists. That they aim at abolition only with the consent of the slaveholding States. Then why do they not apply to the constituted authorities of those States, whence alone such consent can be rightfully obtained? There let them present their remonstrances and petitions. To these let them address their arguments; but if by these they would not be received by reason of their dangerous or offensive tendency, attempts to stir up the people against their civil authorities would still be revolutionary in their nature.

The next means resorted to for effecting their object is the printing and publishing and circulating immense numbers of books, pamphlets, tracts and newspapers, of the most inflammatory character, and raising funds for the purpose of circulating them far and wide throughout the Southern country. These documents, they gravely say, are for the master, and not for the slave. This excuse, by the by, is an admission that it would be wrong to put them into the hands of the slave. But such a pretext is an insult to common sense. If the pious and philanthropic persons of the association believe that these publications, or the sentiments contained in them, will reach only the ears of the masters, it is only evidence of a new variety in the fever of enthusiasm, by which such persons deceive themselves. They may as well believe that they can set all the bells in Richmond ringing so as to arouse and alarm the white inhabitants, and affect the slaves only as a tinkling lullaby to soothe them to repose. Examine, Sir, the contents of many of these documents, and of those which, if not written by these pious persons, are adopted and circulated by the Association, or its prominent members, and you will find nothing more offensive than their tone. Almost all the epithets of vituperation which our language affords, have been applied to the slaveholders or their principles—to the principles of Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, and the Rutledges and Pinkneys, and the thousands of other great and estimable persons who have held or yet hold slaves. As if the feelings of such persons could be propitiated by an affected distinction between a condemnation of the individual and his principles. In some of them, however, the slaveholders themselves are denounced as murderers and man-stealers, as receivers who are as bad as the thieves. Their Christianity is styled 'a chain-forging Christianity,' a 'white-plating Christianity,' with other invented names of odious and opprobrious import. The Scriptures have been eviscerated, from Genesis to Revelation, to supply their armory of wrath—and every text that bears upon the vices of cruelty and inhumanity is tortured so as to bear upon the slaveholder. The heaviest denunciations of woes and judgments of the

prophets and apostles are pointed against them. Conceive, sir, of the pretence that these publications are intended for the exclusive benefit of the souls and bodies of highminded, intelligent and sensitive persons, selected at this warm season, and sent to them for light summer reading, to soften their tempers and enlighten their consciences. But this is not all. Some of these books are illuminated with graphic insignia of terror and oppression, with pictorial chains, and handcuffs and whips.—On the cover of one you will see in one plate the overseer in ghastly rage inflicting the lash upon the naked and crouching slave; and on the same plate the minister of peace teaching the infant slaves the doctrine of patience under suffering, and obedience until deliverance comes. But, Sir, I suppose if these poor creatures cannot read, they can see and understand. Some of the associates, however, think that many of them can read or may be taught to read; for at a late meeting it was proposed by a great champion of abolition, to apply to the Bible Society for aid in distributing Bibles among them, and it was so resolved. And if they can read or be taught to read the Bible, it requires no proof to show that they can read tracts.

There still remains in my mind a still stronger objection than any I have urged to this Association. Its evident direction is towards becoming a political Association, whose object it will be, and whose tendency now is, to bear directly upon the ballot boxes and to influence the elections. Already we know that the Member of Congress elect for this District, was interrogated upon his intended course respecting slavery in the District of Columbia, and with an independence which, apart from his other merit, evinces his qualifications for his place, he refused to pledge himself, and reserved the right to act as his judgment might dictate when obliged to act. And can you doubt, fellow-citizens, that these Associations will act together for political purposes? Is it in human nature for such combinations to forbear? If then their numbers should be augmented, and the success they anticipate realized in making proselytes, how soon might you see a majority in Congress returned under the influence of the Associations? And how long afterwards would this Union last? Sir, in the ear of imagination, I now hear the tolling of its mournful knell.

May I now implore the members of this Association, to whom I mean to do no wrong or injustice, to look to the consequences of the excitement they have kindled, of which we already perceive the first bitter fruits. What a fearful temper is already manifested in some parts of the country. The ordinary forms of justice have been superseded; courts are formed by the infuriated people; mock trials instituted; or, without any trial, men, white and black, are hanged upon the nearest tree. An individual, said to be innocent, is reported to have suffered in this way for being a presumed agent in the distribution of the Anti-Slavery papers. However that may be, it is manifest that a blood-thirsty spirit against such persons is abroad, and that the lives of others are endangered. These feelings and proceedings, too, are justified in some instances by the press, and the minds of men, friends of order and the supremacy of the laws, are ready to abandon their habitual respect for them, and to vindicate these outrages. When these scenes become habitual, and the public mind in those places becomes reconciled to them, the foundations of the social system in those places will fail, and the liberty and lives of all who go thither from the North will be endangered. Ought not these ominous signs of the times to come suffice to dissuade the well disposed members of this Association from persevering in their system?

Such, Sir, are my views of the obligations imposed upon us by the Constitution, and of the principles of the Association. The collision between them seems to me most palpable. Some of the advocates of this Society, I am told, already maintain that the duties of religion and morality transcend those which result from constitutions and treaties—and the ardent desire felt by all for the freedom of the African race, may predispose some to espouse this opinion. No man, however, can vindicate a breach of the Constitution by setting up the standard of a different law for his own government. But there is no just ground for the suggestion that religious or moral obligation is at variance with our constitutional duties and engagements. Without pretensions to knowledge derived from biblical search, I cannot find in the Christian Scriptures, any prohibition of slavery, and am warranted by the opinions of much better judges, that none such can be found. And the probable cause for this silence is assigned by one eminent divine and denouncer of slavery, namely, that “Christianity abstained from intermeddling with the civil institutions of any Nation,” and that the “discharging slaves from all obligation to obey their masters which is the consequence of pronouncing slavery to be unlawful,” “would have

had no better effect than to let loose one half of mankind upon the other." The Saviour of the world gave no instructions to the twelve or the seventy to interfere in the civil polity of States. His religion was intended for the heart of the individual. The command was to go and teach all nations—all nations that would receive them. But when not received, "to shake off the dust of their feet." Yet it cannot be imagined that He could regard the condition of slavery with complacency, though it prevailed among all civilized nations. He foresaw that the blessings of a divine morality, and reformation of bad customs, would advance in due time. But He was not an immediatist, and neither insisted or intended that "every knee should bow, and every tongue confess" before the appointed time. Why will the reverend Abolitionists be wiser and more philanthropic than Christ and the Apostles? With respect to the claims of morality, there is no colour of duty more than of religion in this officious interference. The distinction between perfect and indeterminate duties is familiar and sound. The duty of fulfilling the obligation of oaths and lawful contracts is perfect, and so are all those which enjoin obedience to the commands of our Maker, and abstinence from evil. But the duties of promoting the happiness of others, by our counsels and opinions, of alleviating the burthens of the wretched, of visiting the captive and procuring freedom for those who are in bonds, though of a very high and imperative character, are of necessity indeterminate and dependent on circumstances. But we may fearlessly assume, that express and positive obligations should never be impaired by an enthusiastic desire to discharge those which are supposed to be binding on conscience, but are not defined.

The variety of conditions of human suffering which afflicts our race is infinite.—Each of us may sympathize with all of them, when known, but each ones capacity to relieve is limited, and we are compelled to select the practicable cases and leave the rest, and when it so happens that acts of grace and bounty cannot be performed without trouble and misery to others, it is best to turn benevolence into some other channel—and, in all instances, to balance the advantages of forbearing to act when they are certain, with the mischiefs that may arise from action, though only problematical. What, then, fellow-citizens, will be the comparison between the consequences of maintaining our present position in respect to our sister States—leaving them as we found them, and as we have agreed they should remain, and attempting to disturb their domestic institutions?

Surely, sir, we have been, and yet are, a most happy people, and to us would seem to be renewed the covenant for a promised land. We possess every variety of soil and climate. Our various pursuits are adapted to the mutual supply of all that is necessary for the encouragement and reward of industry in all its departments. We have no peerages, no hierarchy, no public debt, no corroding taxes, no fear of war, and none for its consequences, should it come. The poor man has all the chances which equal laws afford of becoming rich, and the rich is bound, by interest and habit, to respect and patronize the poorer. Never were the elements of a political and social union so well combined. No man's imagination—certainly not my imagination, chilled by the frost of nearly three score and ten years, can paint in too vivid colors the scenes of prosperity and felicity which await this people while they remain true to each other.

These advantages are real. We know, we feel, that we have and can retain and secure them forever by preserving our Government, and cherishing the principles on which it was framed. But who can calculate the amount of trouble and calamity which will ensue, upon the perseverance of the Anti-Slavery Society? Are they aware of the pain and discomfort which they excite in private families, of the interruption occasioned to domestic repose, of the cruel and unprovoked irritation, arising from insult goading men to madness, and instigating them to measures of precaution and severity towards the unfortunate race which they pretend to serve? Are the ladies who have formed, or may form, the auxiliary clubs, mothers, or wives, or maidens—and can they from rural bowers and happy vales, contemplate the agonies of mothers, who hear in their day and night dreams, the shrieks of servile insurrection—the tears of the unconscious child in sympathy with the mother—the horrors which petrify the hearts of the delicate and pure? Surely the promise of good should be great and certain, to balance against this violence to the peace and happiness of our neighbors, even supposing their apprehensions groundless. But, looking further, a servile war must have one of two issues. The citizens or the slaves must triumph. If the former, and altogether the most probable, if not

(as I believe it,) absolutely certain result should follow, who does not perceive that the extermination of the blacks or a regime of the most severe and rigorous vigilance will follow, and all chance of emancipation postponed, perhaps forever?—But suppose the other issue, and that the slaves should conquer. The whites must in their turn be exterminated. They could not remain at home a conquered people. To say nothing of the accumulated horrors of the process, Republics of the colored race will have supplanted that of their masters, and we shall be brought into proximity and perhaps alliance, or into constant war with those who occupy the soil and the habitations of the good and the great and the brave of our brethren. I drop a veil over the scene.

Thus, sir, I have presented, imperfectly, but plainly, my views of this Association, and of the war which it has waged upon the Constitution. Under this, our obligations are plain—they require no technical exposition, are involved in no obscurity—all who run may read—and I persuade myself that all who are here present have a clear comprehension of their duty. I would not do the Association wrong, but I think it dangerous—most dangerous, as it endeavors to lure to its pale all who concur with them in their regret at the existence of slavery—which is in fact the whole people. But in this case the difference between feeling and acting is immense. The right of thought, and of speech, and of the freedom of the press, is one thing—that of combining to spread disaffection in other States, and poison the sweet fountains of domestic safety and comfort, is a different thing.—This, I hope my fellow-citizens will see. In any event, I can have no motive to mislead them—my days are nearly numbered, and I have nothing to gain or to wish from public favor. I witnessed the adoption of the Constitution, and through a long series of years have been accustomed to rely upon an adherence to it as the foundation of all my hopes for posterity. It is threatened, I think, with the most portentous danger that has yet arisen. I pray it may be dissipated—that the thirteen stripes may not be merged in two dismal stains of black and red, and that my grave may close over me before the Union descends into hers.

INFLUENCE OF THE GOSPEL.—A slave in one of the islands of the West Indies, who had originally come from Africa, became singularly valuable to his owner on account of his integrity and general good conduct—so much so, that his master raised him to a situation of some consequence in the management of his estate. His owner on one occasion, wishing to purchase twenty additional slaves, employed him to make a selection, giving him instructions to choose those who were strong, and likely to make good workmen. The man went to the slave market and commenced his scrutiny. He had not long surveyed the multitude offered for sale, before he fixed his eyes intently upon one old and decrepid slave, and told his master that he must be one. The master appeared greatly surprised at his choice, and remonstrated against it. The poor fellow begged that he might be indulged, when the dealer remarked, that if they were about to buy twenty, he would give them the old man into the bargain. The purchase was accordingly made, and the slaves were conducted to the plantation of their new master; but upon none did the selector bestow half the attention and care he did upon the poor old decrepid African. He took him to his own habitation and laid him on his own bed; he fed him at his own table, and gave him drink out of his own cup; when he was cold he carried him into the sunshine, and when he was hot he carried him into the shade of the cocoa-nut tree. Astonished at the attention of this confidential slave bestowed upon a fellow slave, his master interrogated him upon the subject. He said, “You could not take so intense an interest in the old man, but for some special reason; he is a relation of yours, perhaps your father?” “No, massa,” answered the poor fellow, “he is no my farder.” “He is then your elder brother?” “No, massa, he is no my broder.” “Then he is an uncle, or some other relation?” “No, massa, he no be of my kindred at all nor even my friend.” “Then,” asked the master, “on what occasion does he excite your interest?” “He is my enemy, massa,” replied the slave; “he sold me to the slave dealer; and my Bible tells me, when my enemy hunger, feed him; and when he thirst, give him drink.”—*Mission Intel.*

FROM MAINE.

We have pleasure in laying before the readers of the Repository, the following copy of a note received a few days ago by the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, at present on a visit to the North, from the Hon. THOMAS A. HILL:

"BANGOR, (ME.) September 15, 1835.

"Rev. R. R. Gurley:

"DEAR SIR—With my best wishes for the success of the American Colonization Society, I send you the above bank draft, for \$503, the amount of recent subscriptions at this place, in aid of that most important Institution. I consider this sum the fruits of your late visit and addresses here, which have awakened an interest on the subject that I trust will not soon subside. I hope we shall hereafter make some progress in forming Auxiliary Societies in this State: and with the view of directing public attention to this interesting subject, I intend to write to gentlemen in different parts of the State, proposing the formation of a State Society."

GOOD REASONS.

Among the reasons assigned by the able Editor of the Pittsburg Christian Herald for supporting the American Colonization Society, are the following:

We approve of that Society because it is a happy instrument, not only to relieve the African from his bondage, but to disseminate the arts, civilization, and religion over Africa, and entirely to put a period to the slave trade.

We approve of it because it has had a growth and an influence perhaps unparalleled in the history of Colonization, and certainly not equalled in the face of such opposition.

We approve it because it has accomplished so much, while misrepresentation and abuse have opposed its way: what might it not have achieved if it had enjoyed the favor and assistance of all the friends of Africa and of the black man?

We approve it because we have satisfactory reason to believe or to know that it has been conceived, originated, and conducted on principles of noble and elevated christian philanthropy, pleasing to God and honorable to man.

We are *not* in favor of what has been termed Garrisonism or Thompsonism, because of the violence with which their proceedings are conducted, and their denunciations uttered. We are not in its favor, on account of their manifest partiality.—They say every thing in their power to awaken strong feelings of opposition to Africa, among the blacks; holding out the idea in the strongest terms, that they are exiles, banished, &c. While if another recommends Africa, there are no expressions too severe to be applied to them for their depriving him of his rights, and much more of vituperation and abuse. We should blame no one for giving his opinion unfavorable to Africa; but another has the same right to recommend it that they have to denounce it. When emigration to America at one time appeared to be growing popular in Europe, the enemies of America made it their business to represent this country in the most unfavorable light, while its friends were allowed without denunciation to speak in its favor. Emigration went forward, and America became what it now is.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, from August 20 to September 20, 1835.

Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.

Heirs of the late John Linton, New Orleans, nine instalments,	-	\$900
Thomas C. Upham, Bowdoin College, 5th instalment,	-	100

Carried forward, 1000

Brought forward, \$1000

Collections from Churches.

Alexandria, 2nd Presbyterian Church, Rev. Elias Harrison,	7
Belvidere, N. J. Pres'n. do, Rev. Isaac Caudee,	26 29
Children of the Sabbath School of said church, of which W. C. Morris, Esq. is superintendent,	3 71
Bethell and Rodney, by Rev. Dr. Chamberlain, President of Oakland College,	50
Bethany, Pa. Pres'n. church, Rev. Wm. Jeffery,	5
Bowdoin College, Young Men's Colonization Society, and Cong'l. church, Brunswick, Maine,	50
Bucksport, Me. Rev. Mr. Blood's Society,	15
Canandaigua, N. Y. Meth. ch. Rev. Wilber Hoag,	10
Cazenovia, do, 1st Pres'n. ch. Rev. E. S. Burrows,	18 82
Chittenango, do, Reformed Dutch ch. Dr. A. Yates,	13
Cincinnati, 1st Pres'n. ch. Rev. J. L. Wilson,	14 87
Balance of collection in Dr. Beecher's church,	75
Concord, Ohio, Rev. D. Tol,	5
Delaware, Rev. W. Matchett, on account of collections,	20
Farmington, Tenn. Rev. Thomas J. Hale,	5
Giles Court-house, Va.,	8 25
Greenwich, Conn. Christ church, Rev. Jos. H. Nichols,	7
Hallowell, Me. Methodist church,	29
Harmony, Va. Rev. Thomas R. Catlett,	4 50
Lee, Mass., Cong'l. do, Rev. Mr. Danforth,	15
Lewisburg, Pa., Pres'n. do, Rev. Mr. Mann,	10
Manchester, Va., Methodist do, Rev. Albert G. Burton,	30
Natchez, Methodist church, Rev. R. D. Smith,	34
Newburn, Montgomery co. Va.,	3 25
North Yarmouth, Me. Rev. Mr. Hobart,	6 65
Phippsburg, do, Rev. Mr. Boynton,	4 75
Pitts-grove, N. J., Rev. G. W. Janvier,	10
Society of Ladies in said church,	10
Rockland, Venango county, Pa. Congregation,	4
Silver Spring, Pa. Pres'n. do, Rev. James Williamson,	10
Thetford, Vt. 1st Cong'l. church, Rev. E. G. Babcock,	5
Washington City, Christ church, Rev. Mr. Hatch,	4 51
Waterford, Me., Rev. Mr. Douglas's Society,	6 64

Auxiliary Societies.

Connecticut Auxiliary Society, Seth Terry, Treasurer,	700
Minot, Maine, do, Wm. Ladd,	10
Mississippi State do, A. Fisk, Treasurer,	400
Middletown, (Conn.) Female do, Emily Tracy, Treasurer,	78
(part of which was collected in Rev. J. R. Crane's church.)	
Virginia do, B. Brand, Treasurer,	112
Xenia, Female Auxiliary Society, Juliet Grover, Treasurer,	70

Donations.

Bedford, Pa., B. R. H.	5
Bladen county, N. C. Lewis Sheridan,	3
Brunswick, Me. Capt. Jos. M'Lellan,	1
Mercer county, Pa. James Glenn, Sen. and Miss Eliz. Glenn,	1
New Jersey, a Friend of the Society,	5
Reed Island, Wythe county, Va., Rev. L. Stevens and Mrs. Ann Stevens, each \$2,	4
Dr. James Stevens \$2 50, Jos. Stevens 92 cents,	3 42
T. K. Catlett \$1 33, Mr. Crawford 25 cents,	1 58

Legacy.

Samuel E. Shaw, Louisville, Kentucky, bequeathed	30
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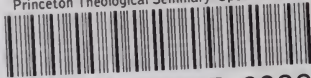
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